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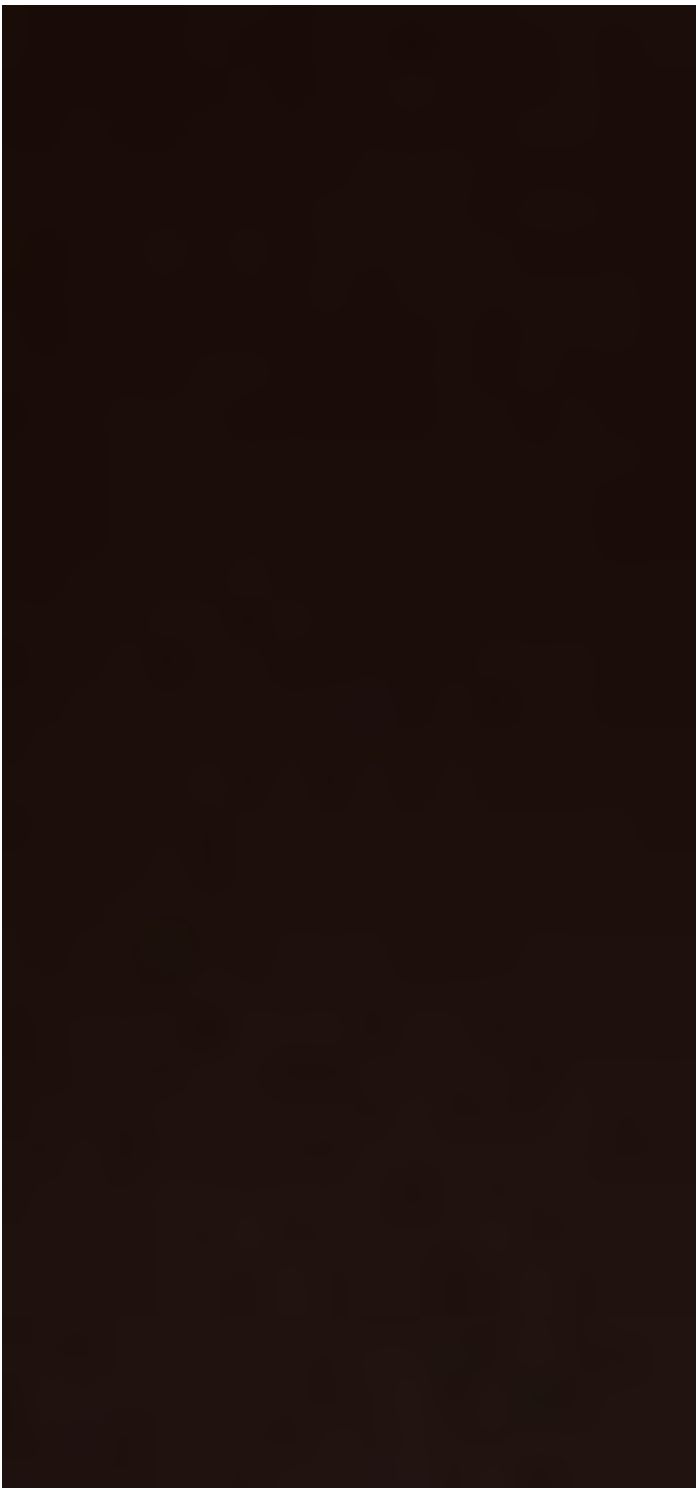

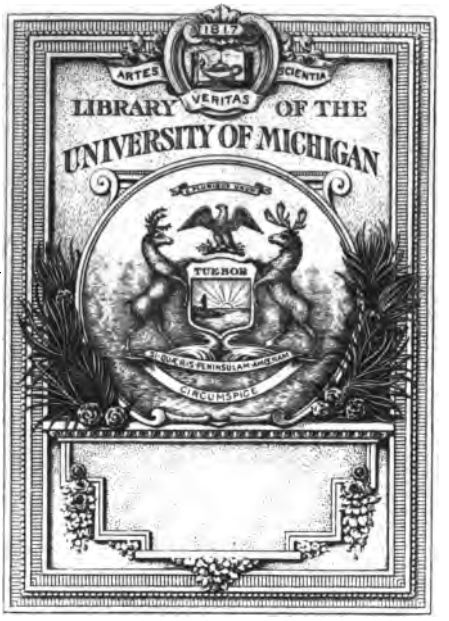
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THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.

SOMETIME

PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,

AND DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

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THE

KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST JESUS;

OR,

THE SEVENTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES

UPON

THE APOSTLES' CREED;

CONTAINING

THE FIRST AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY;

WITH

THE MORE IMMEDIATE PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST.

DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS.

420902

THE ROYAL MAJESTY

OF OUR MOST GRACIOUS AND PIOUS SOVEREIGN,

CHARLES,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

IT is not out of admiration of your greatness, though unto me you be the greatest under heaven, nor out of any desire to be made great by you, that I present this treatise to your sacred patronage. That which puts this unusual boldness upon me is my long experience of your royal goodness, (wherewith your greatness is bounded,) of your gracious affability to your meanest subjects, and special affection to the subject whereof I treat,—Jesus Christ, and him crucified; a subject commended by your sacred Majesty unto the faculty of divinity within your University of Oxon, at your manor of Woodstock two years since. It was my happiness to be then present, and I took no little comfort that in this course I had the start of many of my brethren, most of my meditations being addressed unto this part of divinity. But the advantage of start which I then had, I neither can hope nor desire to keep, as being since acquainted with many younger students (to omit men of mine own rank and age) whom God hath blessed with better gifts and opportunities to accomplish that course which I ever intended since my designment to this sacred function. If my

endeavours may prove occasions to stir up the gifts of God in them, or give them any useful hints for prosecuting this argument, I have that which I most desired in the publication of my former meditations upon the Apostles' Creed. And if these labours, and others of like nature following, may be accepted by your Majesty, I have all that I desire, besides the propagation of Christ's kingdom and church here on earth, and the good success of my daily prayers for the blessing of God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, upon your sacred Majesty, your royal Consort, and hopeful issue.

Your Majesty's

Most humble Servant and devoted Chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST JESUS;

OR,

THE SEVENTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

HOW evil should mingle itself with the works of God, seeing every thing made by him (and he made all) was good—how that evil which we call *sin* should find entrance into, and hold possession of the heart of man, who was the accomplishment of all God's visible works, and upon whose creation it is said, that *God saw every thing that he had made, and it was very good*—what kind of being this evil hath, whether merely privative, or only positive, or partly both—wherein that servitude which sin did bring upon us doth consist—what freedom of will is compatible with our natural servitude unto Satan, (for without some freedom of will we might be Satan's instruments, his slaves or servants unto sin we could not be);—these and the like queries, with their several branches, in the first project of this long work, had their place allotted between the article of Creation and the articles concerning Christ, or in the intended seventh book of Commentaries upon the Creed. But

the method then intended I have now altered, not out of forgetfulness, but out of choice, and upon these considerations especially: first, in that the doctrine concerning sin original or actual is not expressly mentioned in the Creed: secondly, because the most pleasant and most fruitful branches of Divine Providence (whose general stems have been in the article of Creation handled) are nowhere so conspicuous or so admirable as in the evangelical history of the conception, birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of
568 Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour; and pity it were to sever them in place which accord so well in nature. Lastly, I considered it could no way be harmful to have the plaster ready before I adventured to lance the sore; specially in that I am likely to search somewhat deeper than I have found it searched by others. The only sore of the human soul whose scars cannot in this life be perfectly healed is sin original, and the wounds thereof are sins actual and habitual; the only medicine or salve for both is the knowledge of Christ and him crucified; for he is the only tree of life whose leaves are appointed to heal the nations.

569 SECTION I.

Of the belief or knowledge of Christ in general: and whether Theology be a true science or no.

CHAP. I.

Of the principal points that Christians are bound to believe.

THAT all we which bear the name of Christians did take the name originally from Christ, the heathen

historian[a] did acknowledge. He did believe that Christ (*the author and finisher of our faith*) did suffer under Pontius Pilate; yet this belief was far from making him a Christian. That which we Christians are in the first place to believe, is, that *the man Christ Jesus*, whom the Jews by the help of Pontius Pilate did crucify, was truly the Son of God, his only Son; so truly and indissolubly the Son of God, as well as of man, that whilst this man was conceived by the Holy Ghost, the Son of God was likewise conceived by the Holy Ghost; whilst this man was born of a pure virgin, the true and only Son of God was born of the same virgin; whilst this man was put to death, crucified, dead, and buried, the Son of God was likewise crucified, dead, and buried; whilst this man Christ was raised again from the dead, the true and only Son of God was so raised; whilst this man ascended into heaven, the Son of God ascended into heaven; whilst this man sitteth at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us, the Son of God there sits, and makes the same intercession; that when we expect the same Jesus whom the Jews did crucify shall come in visible manner to judge the quick and the dead, we believe and expect that the Son of God shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Of the first points we ought to have at the least a true historical belief. Our belief of that article concerning Christ's coming to judgment, and of our resurrection from the dead, is more prophetical than historical.

2. Is then an historical belief of Christ's conception, birth, death, and resurrection sufficient for us? Sure

[a] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est.—Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. (pag. 255.) cap. 44.

it is not, unless withal it be salvifical. No faith can save, unless it be a saving faith: but no faith can be salvifical, unless it be historical: for he that doth not believe the history of Christ's death and passion, can have no Christian faith at all. Now the utmost effect whereunto the endeavours of God's seedsmen are immediately terminated, is to plant in the hearts of their hearers a firm persuasion of the divine truth of the
70 sacred histories or prophecies concerning Christ. In respect of this persuasion they are said to *plant* and *water*, and to be *co-workers* with God's Spirit. But to make this persuasion to be salvifical, this is the work of God alone; for unless he give this increase to what we plant and water, all our labours are lost, our best endeavours are to no purpose. Yet as we are to believe that without God we can do nothing, so are we bound to hope that in him and by him we may do all things, or have all things done in us and for us, which can be needful or conducent to our salvation. Now if such as are bound to teach, and such as are bound to learn, would daily season their endeavours (their prayers especially) with serious consideration of this twofold truth, we could have no just occasion either of doubt or fear, but that if our belief of the rehearsed articles of Christ were once truly historical, it would certainly become rightly salvifical. For to be historical and to be salvifical are not *membra oppositа*, no such opposite members as divide belief into two parts or kinds; they are as subordinate one to the other, as natural wit and artificial improvement of it.

CHAP. II.

Of Historical Belief in general, and how it doth variously affect Believers according to the Variety of Matters related: the several Esteem of the Historians.

THAT we call *historical belief* which hath no

other ground besides the authority of the historian or relater, or, at the most, experiments suitable to things related. And such experiments may be known sometimes by sense, sometimes by reasons demonstrative: and yet all the credit which they can give to the historian, or all the additions they can make unto historical belief formerly planted, will be but probabilities or presumptions. Whether the moon was eclipsed at the time when Nicias was general for the Athenians against the Syracusians, or when Columbus made first discovery of America, are questions which may be scientifically resolved by astronomical calculations. But whether Nicias through ignorance of natural causes, and gross superstition, committed that intolerable oversight which (as [a] Plutarch relates) occasioned the overthrow of the Athenian forces by sea and land; or whether Columbus made that witty advantage of the like eclipse which [b] Benzo

[a] But then it fell out unfortunately for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to use for that purpose, and which took away much of his superstition, called Stilbides, was dead not long before. For this sign of the eclipse of the moon (as Philochorus saith) was not hurtful for men that would fly, but contrarily very good; for, said he, things that men do in fear, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy unto them. But this notwithstanding, their custom was not to keep themselves close above three days in such eclipses of the moon and sun, as Autoclides prescribes in a book he made of such matters, where Nicias bare them in hand, that they should then tarry the whole and full revolution of the course of the moon, as though he had not seen her straight clear again, after she had once passed the shadow and darkness of the earth. But all other things laid aside and forgotten, Nicias disposed himself to sacrifice unto the gods, until such times as the enemies came again as well to besiege their forts and all their camp by land, as also to occupy the whole haven by sea.—Plutarch in Vita Niciæ in fine.

[b] Almirans ob hæc ingenti animi ægritudine anxius, cum hinc Indos nec gratia, nec prece, nec pretio ullo adduci posse videret, ut cibaria exercitui præberent, nec armis ab se cogi propter infirmitatem suorum, alia via idem aggredi statuit. Atque id cœlesti quodam instinctu ei

571 in his History of America mentions, cannot be known by any computation astronomical or chronological: this wholly depends upon the authority of the historians. Yet if by calculations astronomical compared with the annals of those times, it should appear that there were no such eclipses in the years pretended for these practices, this would convince these historians, and those whom they follow, of error, if not of forgery. On the other side, if astronomers should make it clear, that in the points of time assigned by these historians there did fall out such eclipses of the moon, this would free them from suspicion of fiction so much the more, by how much they were less skilful or less observant of the celestial motions or revolutions of times wherein eclipses happen.

2. But sometimes the sensible events or experiments may square so well with historical relations, as to leave no place for curiosity itself to suspect either fiction or falsehood in the historian. As who could suspect the truth of the Roman histories which mention the subjection of this island to their empire for divers successions, if he had seen their coins lately digged out of the earth, bearing the inscriptions of twenty several emperors? Or who could suspect the historical truth of their progress into the northern parts of this kingdom, that have observed the ruins of that wall which they

venisse in mentem libens equidem crediderim, providente, viz. Deo, ne tantus vir fame periret. Id porro ita factum est; forte in propinquo tugurium barbarorum erat, hos Columbus monet, ac prænunciat, ipsos, ni vitæ subsidia sibi ac suis suppeditarent, peste a Deo cœlitus missa brevi omnes perituros; cujus rei id habituros signi, quod duos intra dies lunam sanguine fœdatam visuri essent. Id cum eadem die et hora, qua Almirans prædixerat, conspicarentur Indi (lunæ autem defectus is erat) subito victi formidine quæcunque ei ad victum necessaria fuerunt, benigne præbuere, insuper veniam culpæ orantes, neve ipsis irasci pergeret.–Benzo Hist. novi Orbis, l. 1. c. 14. tom. ii. p. 63.

built, and other monuments as suitable to their narrations as the seal is to the signet? The best is, that the experiments which suit unto the histories of the Old and New Testaments are more plentiful and more pregnant than any external ratifications of any other historical narrations can be: for of sacred historical truth, besides the legible testimonies of the great book of the creatures, every little world may have a world of witnesses in himself. Now if our belief of the histories concerning Christ and him crucified be but equal to our belief of other histories, yet their authority or esteem will be much greater, because we cannot believe this truth, but we must withal believe it to be divine; and every man by nature hath a more sacred esteem of matters which he conceives to be divine, than he can have of things merely mundane, or human.

3. But where the truth of historical belief is to our apprehension the very same, and the degrees of our assent unto it equal, yet the estimate of the same truth, or its impression upon our affections, is not the same. These vary according to the several weight of matters related, though by the same author, and believed by equal degrees of the same kind of belief. Of Edward the Second's strange defeat by Robert de Bruce king of Scotland, and of Edward the Third and the Black Prince his son, or Henry the Fifth their success against the French, we have but one and the same historical belief, whether for degree or quality; yet are we not the same way or in the same degree affected with the one story as with the other. The reading of Edward the Third or Henry the Fifth's success delighteth us English with the ancient honour of our nation. The remembrance of Edward the Second's

defeat doth so disaffect us, that we could wish this story were not so true as the other.

But how unpleasant soever the annals of Edward the Second be to some English, yet we never observed any of this age to weep at the reading of them; whereas in some provinces of this kingdom the battle of Pannierehugh, the rebellion in the north, and that less disaster in the year following that rebellion upon the English borders, could not have been mentioned or
572 seriously related within our memory, without many tears of such auditors as had no other knowledge of the events save only from histories or from traditions, which can produce no better belief than historical.

4. Some cases then there be, in which although the authority of the historian be the same, and albeit the matters related by them be for weight or substance the same, yet shall they not make the same impression upon our hearts or affections; yea, matters (in themselves considered) of small moment will sometimes sway double as much as others of more than double weight unto them, although the historical belief of both be equal. The circumstances from which historical truths of lesser weight, simply considered, receive these extraordinary degrees of gravitation, are specially three: vicinity of place; recency of time; and peculiar references to ourselves, to our country, to our friends or allies. The true reason why the history of Christ's death (in some degree, I suppose, believed by all) doth work so little or so successlessly upon most men's affections, is because they consider his death, though in itself a matter of greater consequence, yet as a matter past a thousand and some hundred years agone, or as a matter done by the Jews more than two thousand

miles from our coast. And thus they consider it without any peculiar reference to themselves as the cause of it, or no more concerning themselves than as they are *pars quota humani generis*, some little parcels or grains of mankind, or of the human nature which he redeemed, these being more innumerable than the sand on the seashore.

5. But how firmly soever we apprehend the truth of Christ's death and passion for the substance, yet this apprehension cannot produce a true complete historical belief of his death, unless our apprehension of the substance be seconded with the like apprehension of such circumstances as are peculiar to this history above others. What circumstances are these? Although he suffered but once, and that far off and long ago, yet whatsoever he then suffered or did, doth as nearly and as immediately concern every man this day living in what place soever, as it did those that were living when he died, either such as were sorrowful spectators of his death or actors in it. For albeit he were offered but once, and that but in one place, (without the gates of Jerusalem,) yet this one offering was of value truly infinite, and for efficacy everlasting. And being such, it must be equally appliable to all persons, times, and places. In his death, in his infinite and everlasting sacrifice, every one hath a peculiar interest, not *pro rata*, but *in solidum:* by virtue of that atonement which he made, by that redemption which he purchased once for all, he hath an entire absolute right of dominion over every one of us, and every one of us hath as entire an interest in his death, as if whatsoever he did or suffered in the days of his humiliation he had done and suffered all for us alone. But this last consideration, perhaps, is more pertinent to the

knowledge of Christ and of him crucified, than unto the historical belief of his death or cross.

573 CHAP. III.

Whether such Knowledge of God and of Christ as the Scriptures teach, be a Science properly so called.

ADMITTING the objects of our belief might be as certainly and as evidently known, (at least by some,) as the subjects of sciences properly so called are; whether this knowledge and our belief of the same objects may be coincident, that is, whether it be all one so to know them and to believe them, I will not dispute; for this would occasion a controversy about the use of words, unfitting for a professed divine to entertain, much more to invite. But that there is a knowledge of Christ even in this life, which, if not for perspicuity, or evidence of truth, yet for the excellency of the truths known, exceeds all other knowledge, we have our apostle's peremptory sentence for us; for, writing to his converts of Corinth, which then abounded with all kind of knowledge secular, he saith, *I esteemed* or *determined to know nothing amongst you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.* 1 Cor. ii. 2. He therefore determined to know nothing besides, because he had no other knowledge in any esteem in comparison to this. And what good Christian would desire any other, but as it is subservient to this knowledge? This comprehends all that we can desire either to know or to enjoy; all that we can esteem or love; even eternal happiness itself, as the Author and Fountain of all happiness instructs us, John xvii. 3: *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* But whether our Saviour in this speech, or his apostle in the former, do use the word

knowledge in a strict or in a vulgar sense may be questioned. And this question resolves itself into another, more general; as, whether theology, that is, knowledge of God, be a science properly so called, or whether many conclusions of faith may be clearly demonstrated?

2. Two sorts of men there be, who, for the support or securing of their unreasonable conclusions, have some reason to deny this queen of sciences, this mistress of arts, and supreme governess of all good faculties, to be a science properly so called—the agents for the Romish church, and their extreme opposites; whether mere enthusiasts, such as deny all use of scriptures; or mixed enthusiasts, men that acknowledge the use of scriptures, but abuse them more than such as reject them, by using them too much, or to no good purpose, or mingle them with the secret inspirations of their private spirits, or wrest them to their own fancies. First, if the conclusions controverted betwixt us and the Roman church may be one way or other demonstrated, as, either to be altogether true or altogether false, or so sublime that in this life they cannot be punctually or absolutely determined; then are we not absolutely bound to believe every proposition, which that church shall commend unto us as a doctrine of faith, with the same confidence as if it were expressly delivered in scripture or in the articles of our creed. Nor should every applauded book or sermon, albeit their bulk or substance consists for the most part of scripture sentences, be acknowledged to be that word of God to which all owe obedience, if once it were acknowledged that there is a faculty or science 574
of divinity which hath the same authority to approve or disprove doctrinal conclusions or their uses, which other arts or sciences have to examine the works of all

pretenders to them. If divinity be a science, then he which is a divine, or a master of his profession, might censure the professors of other arts, faculties, or sciences, which take upon them to resolve theological controversies, or to teach doctrines which the church (wherein they live) never avouched, with the self-same liberty which the professors of other arts usually do divines, if they take upon them to teach or practise within the precincts of their profession.

Besides these two sects of men, and some other men which cannot be comprehended under any sect or faction, but have the same temptation to desire that there might be no true knowledge of God or of Christ, or no demonstration of the Spirit, that the atheist or desperate sinner hath to wish there were no God, or no Judge of quick and dead, I cannot conceive what reason any man or any sort of men have to deny theology to be a true and proper science. Yet to give the ingenuous reader, if not full satisfaction, yet some hints (at least) whereby he may satisfy himself, it will be no digression from our present argument (at least no long digression) briefly to shew wherein that knowledge of God and of Christ which may in this life be obtained doth differ from sciences properly so called, and wherein they do agree.

Now all the differences or concordance that can be betwixt any sciences, arts, or faculties, do either concern the maxims and principles, or the conclusions and the subjects of such faculties.

3. The maxims or principles of all other sciences may be clearly apprehended and firmly assented unto by the industrious search and light of common reason, without illuminations supernatural; so cannot the principles or maxims of divinity; there must be a light or illumination more than natural before we can have either

a clear and undoubted apprehension of their truth, or a just valuation of their worth. Yet this difference is not much material, neither part of it, positive or negative, is any way formal or essential to the constitution of a science properly so called. For by what means soever the principles of any science become manifest and certain unto us, whether by our own industry or by the teaching of others, or whether we be taught them immediately from God, (either by the admirable disposition of his extraordinary providence, or by special infused grace,) is merely accidental to the constitution or nature of a science properly so called. He that sees the deduction of mathematical conclusions from the uncontroversed maxims of the same art as clearly as another doth, is never a whit the less skilful mathematician, although perhaps he learned the principles by the help of an extraordinary teacher, which the other attained unto by the industrious exercise of his own wit. Now if it be merely accidental to the nature of a science whether a man be *αὐτοδίδακτος* or *ἀλλοδίδακτος*, his own master or another's scholar, (whether in learning the principles or conclusions,) it can be no prejudice either to his knowledge, or proficiency in such knowledge, that he hath been *θεοδίδακτος*, immediately taught by God, at least for the maxims. And I make no question but that the principles of some other sciences besides divinity (at least some principles of such sciences) have been immediately taught by God; or if any man list to move question or controversy about this truth, I could entertain many 575
heathen advocates for my opinion without any great costs or pains.

4. But as it is true that the principles of divinity cannot be known without illuminations more than natural, so it is certain, that since the ceasing of extra-

ordinary illuminations or gifts of the Spirit, the most of such principles (or so many of them as are required to the science or faculty of divinity) cannot be distinctly known without the knowledge of other arts or sciences. Most of the attributes of God cannot be well unfolded without competent skill in metaphysical learning. Many of his works can never be known nor admired aright without the science of philosophy; nor can the offices or attributes of Christ be taught aright without more skill in the learned tongues than common grammarians or general lexicons will afford. He that hopeth to attain to the true knowledge of these principles must either use the help of some lexicon peculiar to divinity, or make one of his own. Easier it were to learn the terms of law or physic out of Thomasius or Rider's Dictionary, than to know the true theological use or meaning of many principal terms in the Old or New Testament out of Stephanus or Pagninus's Thesaurus, though both of them most excellent writers in their kind. And yet, after a man hath attained by all the means aforementioned, and other like helps of arts, unto a competent knowledge of the principles, there is no less use of good logic in divinity, than in any other science whatsoever, for the right deduction of necessary conclusions from such principles, or for refuting heterodoxal doctrines, or quelling impertinent or frivolous questions. But the principles of divinity being once known, the dilatation or deduction of them into form of art or science, and the establishment of orthodoxal conclusions, may be made as certain and perspicuous by logic, as the like can be in any other science. For the use, not of usual or vulgar, but of exquisite logic, is in no art so necessary as in divinity. The method for constituting any art or science from principles known is twofold; the one, direct and positive, by affirmative

syllogisms, or by demonstration *a priori;* the other, by reducing conclusions contradictory *ad impossibile,* that is, by discovering their manifest contradiction or irreconcilable opposition unto some fundamental principles of the same science. Now what conclusions or opinions they be in particular which contradict either those theological principles that concern the nature and attributes of God, or the personal union of two natures in Christ, his prophetical, sacerdotal, or royal function, shall (by the assistance of his grace) be discussed in the second treatise of the Catholic Church. Of this in the mean time I rest persuaded—that it is neither too much learning that hath made this present age more mad than the former; nor any greater measure of God's Spirit than may be found in others, which makes many among us more bold than their brethren, than their fathers in Christ, in determining greatest mysteries of divinity.

CHAP. IV. 576

Of the Agreements and Differences between Theology and other Sciences in respect of their Subjects: that the true historical Belief of sacred Historians is equivalent to the Certainty or Evidence of other Sciences.

But in every science, *oportet discentem credere,* every young scholar is bound to believe his teacher, and must take some principles upon trust, until he be able to try them himself. Yet, as he is no perfect artist, or no master of science, who cannot see the evidence of principles or maxims, and the connexion between them and the conclusions issuing from them, with his own eyes; so neither doth he deserve the name of a divine, or teacher of this faculty, whosoever he be, that cannot in the first place discern the truth of the maxims or principles, or cannot in the second

place make demonstration of the coherence or non-coherence, or of the discord between them and such conclusions as are rightly inferred or merely pretended from them. But the best is, that as a carpenter may have skill enough to measure the timber which he buys, or a woodward the wood which he sells, or every good husbandman the quantity of the ground which he tills, and yet all their skill put together will not half suffice to make a mathematician; so may all of us be in our callings good Christians, or true believers, and yet no true divines, but more unapt to be teachers in this faculty than an ordinary carpenter to write a comment upon Euclid, or a husbandman to set forth a treatise of cosmography. Thus far the faculty or science of divinity holds exact correspondency with other sciences properly so called: and the practice of Christian men in their several callings bears the same proportion unto true divinity, which manual arts or trades do unto those sciences unto which they are subordinate.

2. A difference notwithstanding there is between divinity and other sciences; but I cannot say whether the faculty of divinity come short of other sciences properly so called, or rather exceed them in that wherein they differ. The difference is this. The total subject of other sciences (of some at least) may be exactly known in this life, though not by any one man, yet by all that may seek after it: but this subject of divinity can never be exactly known by any one man, nor by any succession of men, though all of them should study no other art besides the knowledge of God and of Christ until the world's end. From this incomprehensible amplitude of its subject it is that many principal points in divinity, points necessary unto salvation, must be believed only even by divines

themselves; we may not endeavour or hope to know them, until we be admitted into that everlasting school. And it is a great part of our profession, or of our proficiency in it, to know what questions belong to this present inferior school, and what they be which must be reserved unto the high school everlasting. Vide Rugerium de quæstionibus.

3. But other true sciences there be, and in their kind truly noble, (whose just challenge unto both these titles no man gainsays, no man questioneth,) which have their peculiar problems, as well as unquestionable principles or conclusions. It is not yet resolved by geometricians, whether the quadrature of circles be possible, or whether the continued protraction of lines not parallel make their coincidence not necessary. Astronomers are not yet agreed whether there be so many several orbs as there be planets, or how many spheres above the planets, or whether these orbs or spheres (be they few or more) be concentric. It is controversed whether, not the planets only, but those which we call fixed stars, do move in the firmament as fishes do in the water or as eagles soar in the air, or whether the whole firmament, from the region wherein the fixed stars do move, unto this lower region of the air wherein we breathe, be at all times so uniform for the transmission of light, or for the true representation of the exact distance whether of the altitude or latitude of the stars from us, as at some times it is, or as glass or the clear air is with us. This last query, were it agitated and discussed as it might be, would (I am persuaded) shake many astronomical suppositions or presumed notions concerning *motum trepidationis*, that is, of the supposed reciprocal motion of those which they call fixed stars, from south to north, from north to south. Great expenses, without hope either of gain 577

or of recovering the principal spent in trying chemical conclusions, by many in the former age, will not to this day give satisfaction to some modern naturalists, whether the conversion of other metals or materials into gold be achievable. Many like problems there be in other secular sciences, which will never be fully resolved until we shall not need their resolution. Yet were the number of insoluble problems in every one of these sciences mentioned, or in all that can be mentioned, much greater than it is, this could be no prejudice to them, so long as the deduction of many useful conclusions from clear undoubted principles may be made evident to men which have their wit and senses exercised in such subjects. That the number then of insoluble problems is in divinity much greater than in any other faculty, this only argues the subject of it to be more admirable than the subjects of other faculties. In other faculties or sciences we are bound to give our absolute assent to no more principles or conclusions than are clear and evident: but in divinity we must absolutely believe many conclusions which we cannot hope in this life absolutely to know, or that they should be made evident unto us: for we must believe the final judgment, with the joys of the life to come, which no man can know till he enjoy them; and we must believe the everlasting pains ordained for the devil and his angels, which no man hopes ever to know. Many matters of fact likewise there be related by the prophets, evangelists, and other sacred writers, of which there can be no ungainsayable proof or demonstration, no other ground or reason of our assent unto them besides the authority of the relater. Howbeit, no man can rightly acknowledge such authority as may command his assent without further proof, unless there be better grounds or motives than

the bare proposal or assertion of the author. That we are thus bound to believe many sacred truths which cannot in this life possibly be known, doth no way argue our belief of them to be less rational than our assent unto other truths which may be proved by reason, but rather supposeth that the true historical belief of relations sacred doth parallel the truth or evidences of sciences properly so called. No evidence of any science doth so far exceed true historical belief of matters sacred, as it doth all historical belief of 578
matters secular; and it incomparably exceeds all other historical belief, not only in respect of the worth or just estimate of matters related, but even for the rational evidence of the abstract or speculative truth. What esteem soever we make of Xenophon's stories, this participates no authority, no credit, to Plutarch or other Grecian writers of later times. We may give deserved credit to Plutarch, to Tacitus, and yet justly suspect Herodotus and Livy in many particulars. All the credit which secular historians that live in or write of several ages can expect of us, must grow from their own roots. The consent of many writers in several ages may serve to underprop a general or common truth, which haply would decline or fall, if it were supported by the credit of one alone: but natural propagation of truth from one secular historian to another is not to be expected: and without such propagation some addition may be made to our belief of one by reading others; but there can be no true growth or augmentation of our belief of matters secular by comparing divers historians. Far otherwise it is in the right historical belief of matters sacred.

4. The seed of divine mysteries which are sown in Mosaical writings shoot out their branches in the

ensuing historians the prophets, and bear flower and fruit in the evangelical stories: so that he that rightly believes the truth of Mosaical histories cannot distrust the prophets, or suspect the evangelists in their relations. This is a truth supposed by the Author of truth himself: *Had ye believed Moses, you would have believed me: for he wrote of me,* John v. 46: that is, Christ was, if not the sole subject, yet the only scope of Moses's writings. Now to believe the histories of Moses, or matters related by him, we have inducements many, no less binding than the experiments or inductions which win and tie our assent unto the principles of arts or sciences. These inducements are partly from the visible book of the creatures, partly from the estate of the Jews, sufficiently known to all nations from time to time. Of these inducements somewhat hath been said in the first book of these comments, somewhat likewise in the treatise of Creation. Now the contemplation of that most exact harmony between Mosaical or prophetical delineations of Christ, and that live image of him which the evangelists by his Spirit have exhibited unto our view, is no less rational than the contemplation of connexion between the principles of other sciences and their conclusions. The progress in this contemplation of the harmony betwixt the several passages of sacred stories is not the same that is between mathematical principles or theorems and their conclusions. The point then next to be inquired is, how the mysteries concerning Christ and his kingdom, which have been revealed unto us in the New Testament, were delivered by Moses, by the prophets, or other canonical writers of the Old Testament.

SECTION II. 579

Of the several ways by which the mysteries contained in the knowledge of Christ were foretold, prefigured, or otherwise foresignified. Of the divers senses of holy scriptures, and how they are said to be fulfilled, with some general rules for the right interpretation of them.

CHAP. V.

Containing the general Division of Testimonies or Foresignifications of Christ.

ALL the prenotions or foresignifications which the patriarchs had, or their posterity might have had, concerning Christ, have been elsewhere reduced to these three general roots—to testimonies merely prophetical, merely typical, and typically prophetical. The division, though no way misliked by us now, may notwithstanding upon the revise be somewhat amended, or further explained. All the prenotions or overtures of him that was to come, were either by word or matter of fact; either enunciative and assertive, or representative, or partly enunciative, partly representative. All enunciative or assertive testimonies of him that was to come may be reduced to the first branch of the former division; that is, to testimonies merely prophetical. But so cannot all representations of evangelical mysteries be reduced to prenotions merely typical, or prefigurations real. For there may be a true representation or deciphering of mysteries future, as well in characters of speech, in single words or proper names, as by matters of fact, by men's persons or offices, legal ceremonies, or historical events. We are then, in the first

place, to treat in general of prenotions, or testimonies merely prophetical, or expressly assertive: in the second, of prefigurations merely typical, yet (in their kind) real; as of legal ceremonies, of men's persons, of historical events or matter of fact: in the third place, of prenotions, or testimonies typically prophetical; that is, in which there is a concurrence of express prophecy or prediction, and of some matter of fact, or real prefiguration of Christ, or mysteries concerning him: in the fourth and last place, we are to give some hints, or general heads of observations, concerning prenotions, or representations of evangelical mysteries merely literal or verbal. More particulars, of every kind of
580 prenotions here mentioned, shall (by God's assistance) be discussed in the particular articles concerning our Saviour's incarnation, conception, birth, death, and passion.

CHAP. VI.

Of the first Rank of Testimonies concerning Christ; that is, of Testimonies merely prophetical.

THESE are in number exceeding many, yet sundry of them either not well observed or not rightly explained by ordinary interpreters, who, as though they thought to supererogate in not observing so many as might be observed, or in not fully displaying such as ordinarily are observed, oftentimes diminish the number of prenotions typically prophetical, to make up the number of testimonies merely prophetical. Testimonies merely prophetical we account all such, and only such predictions, as, according to the literal assertive sense of the words, and in the purpose of the Holy Spirit, by whom they were registered, are appliable only to Christ himself, not to any legal type or shadow of him. For all such predictions or bare

assertions as are literally appliable to any other besides Christ, or to others with him, belong unto the third member of the former division; that is, to testimonies or prenotions typically prophetical, or (at least) prophetically typical: for some difference there is (though not much) betwixt these two expressions, as will appear hereafter.

2. All the predictions which we have in that fifty-third chapter of Isaiah are merely prophetical; they cannot be literally avouched of any man, of any creature, but only of the Son of God himself, made *a man of sorrows* and infirmities "for us men, and for our salvation." Of the same rank is that particular prophecy of Jeremiah, Jer. xxxi. 22: *The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, The woman shall encompass the man.* But whether that other prophecy, Isaiah vii. 14, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel,* be merely prophetical, or prophetically typical, will require further discussion in a more convenient place. But for that prophecy, Zech. ix. 9—*Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: a King just and lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass*—it is without all question merely prophetical, and can be literally meant of none but of Zion's and Jerusalem's Saviour alone. And however the accomplishment of this prediction might with more facility have been counterfeited by the fraudulent Jew, than the accomplishment of any other prophetical testimony before our Saviour's coming in this manner to Jerusalem, or immediately after it, yet for this fifteen hundred years and more they have had no possible colour for disguising the truth of the prophetical prediction or evangelical story how it was ful-

filled. Though out of their madness they might set up a king, and cry and shout before him; yet have they had no Zion nor Jerusalem whereunto they could have brought him for these fifteen hundred years and more, nor have they been permitted to come near the place where it stood with any other than counterfeit
581 joy, being enforced for many generations to purchase the privilege or liberty of howling over the ruins of Zion and Jerusalem, unto which their expected Messias, by the purport of the former prophecy, was to come, at a far higher rate, than they had bought the delivery of him into their power.

4. That the coming of their King unto that Zion and Jerusalem which then were, was foretold by their prophet Zechariah above two thousand years ago, the Jewish rabbins of this age confess: that this prophecy was literally meant of their expected King or Messias, they do not deny: that this prophecy hath been already literally fulfilled, according to every circumstance, we Christians verily believe. The particular manner how it was fulfilled in and by our Saviour Christ will have its place in the article of his passion, and in the manner of his consecration to his everlasting priesthood. Now for the better confirmation of our faith unto this general, that all the predictions of the Old Testament which concern our Saviour Christ's incarnation, death, and passion, &c., were dictates of the Holy Spirit of God, who neither deceiveth any man, nor can be deceived by man or wicked spirit, we are in the next place briefly to shew how sacred testimonies merely prophetical concerning Christ exhibit that *demonstration of the Spirit* whereof the apostle speaks, (1 Cor. ii. 4,) unto all reasonable men that will seriously weigh them, together with the nature or subject of matters foretold, and with the

various circumstances of time and place, &c., wherein they were uttered or fulfilled.

CHAP. VII.

What manner of Predictions they be, or of what Matters the Predictions must be, which necessarily infer the Participation of a Divine Spirit.

EVERY prophecy is a true prediction, but every true prediction is not a prophecy. Any ordinary man that is arbitrator of his own actions, and master of his word, may truly foretell some events, projected or seriously purposed by himself, unless death or some extraordinary casualty prevent his accomplishment of them. And no wise man will foretell the performance of what he promiseth, or the accomplishment of his purposes, otherwise than with subordination (either express or implied) unto his good-will or pleasure, who seeth all things, even the very secret purposes of our hearts, much better than we ourselves do, and worketh all things according to the counsel, not of our will, but of his own. However, though by his permission and assistance we make performance of whatsoever was for many years before promised or purposed by us, yet this is no demonstration of a divine or prophetical spirit in us. To arrogate or challenge the name of a prophet from the truth of such predictions, were more than enough to prove the party so peccant to be a false prophet.

Besides those predictions which are common to all men, whilst they have the ordinary gift of memory, discretion, or understanding, there be predictions peculiar to several arts or faculties, which come somewhat 582
nearer to the nature of prophecies properly so called, but (well examined) fall further short of them, than

they go beyond the former presages or predictions of ordinary wise or discreet men.

2. A man of ordinary skill in astronomy, able by his own or others' skill to foretell the set times of the eclipses, whether in the sun or moon, might easily gain the reputation of a prophet or a soothsayer amongst barbarous illiterate people; yet no civil nation will account men thus far skilful to be extraordinarily learned, much less for celestial prophets. Hippocrates or Galen (so they had been disposed to play the mountebanks) might have gotten a better opinion amongst the vulgar, or their patients, than they had of themselves or their own skill; for both of them could and did discover the nature of such diseases and alterations ensuing in men's bodies, as the wisest men then living, but not so good physicians as they were, could not guess at aright, much less distinctly foresee. Yet neither of these two famous physicians (for aught I can learn) did take upon them to interpret the aspects or motions of the stars after such a manner as many meaner physicians since their time have done. So far were they from challenging the name or title of prophets or soothsayers, that they did not take upon them to foretell what the secret motions or dispositions of their patients' bodies, whether alive or dead, did presage either to private men or to public states. Yet to foretell strange events to come, by observing the alterations in men's living bodies, or by the anatomy of them dead, is in any reasonable construction more congruous and facile, than to foretell the success of war or politic projects by anatomizing dead brutish creatures, or by inspection of their entrails. This latter skill many in times past amongst the heathens have professed, and have had the reputation of augurs, or soothsayers.

But albeit their predictions in this subject might for the most part prove true, (which I do not believe,) yet all this was not sufficient to purchase the just title of prophets or diviners: it only argues some deeper insight in ominous forewarnings or portendments, as Hippocrates and Galen had in medicinal presages, above ordinary men. That there may be a peculiar skill or dexterity of conjecture concerning the peculiar signs of times, whether by interpretation of dreams, of prodigies, of comets, or the like, is a point not worth the debating in divinity: that this skill (were it granted to be much greater than the professors of it, in what kind soever, arrogate unto themselves) doth amount to the nature of a true prophecy or divination, properly so called, all true divines must deny.

3. That skilful physicians may truly presage the certain issue of some diseases settled or growing, as of the life and death of their patients, far beyond the capacity of vulgars, and to the admiration of men otherwise more learned than themselves, is not doubted by any man of understanding. But all wherein they exceed others not skilled in physic is this; that their art and experience enables them to discern the working or first projects of causes physical, or seminal originals of alterations in men's bodies, much sooner, and with more dexterity, than men without skill or experience in their art can do. But so a well experienced, though illiterate gardener, will distinguish several herbs or simples at the first peeping out of the mould wherein they were hid, much better than a mere contemplative artist (which hath pored oftener and longer upon Mathiolus, Dioscorides, or other 583
herbalists, than the most industrious gardener hath done on his plots) shall be able to distinguish them after a month's growth. Yet will not the cunningest

gardener, though a contemplative herbalist withal, take upon him to tell what seeds have been sown by another of his profession, so long as they lie hid in the ground. Nor will the most skilful physician (unless conceit of his skill far exceed his wit or understanding) adventure to foretell what diseases in particular shall befall men for the present in perfect health, for any one or more of the next seven years to come. Astrologers (for aught I can say against their profession) may truly foretell or give a happy guess at such events as usually follow upon the apparition of comets; but I never heard of any astrologer that could prognosticate at what time, in what degree of altitude, longitude, or latitude, any comet (before its appearance) should be seen, neither whether there should be any comets at all the next five years to come; much less, if any appear, what course it shall observe. I dare not deny all artificial or experimental skill in the interpretation of dreams; but none of this profession (I presume) will be so bold as to foretell what his neighbour shall dream of in the several nights of the next month, or to recall his dreams to mind, if haply he have forgotten them. There was more true divinity in that brief reply of the Chaldean astrologers, or supposed diviners, unto Nebuchadnezzar's unreasonable demand, Dan. ii. 10, than in all their professed art of divination: *The Chaldeans spake to the king, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation. The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill. The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the king's*

matters: therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldean. And it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh. Dan. ii. 4, 5, 10, 11. In this last clause only they failed: for that God which revealed Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the interpretation thereof unto Daniel, was to be *God with us*, to have his dwelling in our flesh.

4. However, they knew, by light of nature and of reason, that it was but one and the same skill to tell or retrieve matters of this nature past—that is, whereof they had no hint or notice, either from their own senses, or from history or tradition—and to foretell things contingent, or not determined in their comprehensible causes.

Now to foretell things of this nature, any future that falls not out by the constant and observable course of nature, or which hath no dependance on any visible cause already attempting its effect, (though so secretly as none but a perfect artist can discover the project,) is that kind of prediction which only deserves the title of prophecy, or divination properly so called, and is not communicable to any creature, save only by participation of the Divine Spirit. All such predictions must be derived from some revelation immediately made by God himself unto some one or other of his creatures, from whom the rest receive it, either by writing or by tradition. This topic of divinity the Lord himself immediately taught the prophet Isaiah, chap. xli. 21: *Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the* 584 *King of Jacob. Let them bring forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things,*

what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods. This case comes home against all pretended divinations given by oracles, by the supposed heathen gods, and their priests and prophets: so doth that other, Isaiah xlvii. 5, 6, 7, fully reach all pretended astrological divinations of contingents future.

5. Yet all the predictions concerning Christ, in the writing of Moses or the prophets, are of this rank and nature, which God himself denies could be foreseen or foretold either by supposed heathen gods or by astrologers. Now this principle being once granted—that all the prophecies concerning Christ, alleged by the evangelists, were uttered many years before the relation of their accomplishment by them—no rational man can deny that the first revealer of them was God himself, who calleth things that are not as if they were, and foretelleth things to come as if they were already past. Many things foretold by the prophets concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, his birth, his death and passion, resurrection, &c., demonstratively infer a creative or omnipotent power, from whom they received this spirit of divination. Many again (besides the supposal of his omnipotent power) manifestly argue a wisdom truly infinite. Of the deduction of both these attributes from prophetical divinations, of legal or other typical prefigurations of Christ and his kingdom, hereafter, (by God's assistance,) as the exposition of types or prophecies, or of both, either severally or jointly considered, shall minister matter or occasion.

That predictions of this rank and nature, whereof we now treat, did suppose a power divine for their

author, was a common prenotion amongst the heathen, amongst the Latins especially, in whose language the faculty of foretelling things thus contingent was called *divinatio;* a fuller expression (as Tully somewhere observes) than the Grecians had of the like skill; for it imports a great deal more than μαντεία, or other like titles assumed by such mountebanks as were the true disciples of the grand impostor and father of lies. Nor could this grand impostor himself have gotten the esteem of a deity, or power divine, amongst rude people, by any other means than by counterfeiting predictions truly divine. The major proposition, That all prediction of contingents to come, or of events not as yet seminally extant in their natural causes, was from divine inspiration, the heathens rightly believed and acknowledged: but that such spirits as demanded sacrifice, or other like observances of them, could foretell future events of this rank, was never sufficiently proved unto them: these infernal impostors, and the mountebanks their scholars, whether astrologers, soothsayers, &c., played the jugglers in this assumption, or minor; and by this means wrought their followers to subscribe unto most desperate practical conclusions.

CHAP. VIII. 585

Of the Sibylline Oracles, whether they came originally from God, or no: that the Perspicuity of their Predictions doth not argue them to be counterfeit, or forged since the Incarnation of the Son of God.

BUT if the infallible predictions of future events, which have no causes discernible, either by the general eye of nature, or peculiar skill of art, coexistent with them, do necessarily infer the spirit of prophecy, or divination properly so called, it will be further demanded, what is to be said or thought of the Sibylline

oracles; whether they were from heaven, or from earth, or from the region under the earth? whether God or any good angel did inspire these prophetesses with their predictions concerning Christ? That many things concerning his life and kingdom were expressly foretold by these heathen prophetesses, the best amongst the ancient Christians did believe, nor did the heathens that lived with them or before them question the authority of the records which they alleged. The only question then was, whether their predictions of strange alterations to ensue throughout the world did punctually refer to Christ, whom the Jews did crucify, or to some other heroic person. That these prophecies were extant for many generations before the blessed Virgin, the mother of Christ, (from whom alone he took his bodily substance,) was born or conceived, no literate Christian or heathen did ever question; yet upon her nativity to have foretold that she should conceive and bring forth such a Son as should likewise be the Son of God, the great Redeemer of the world, did far surpass all astrologians' skill, or any other prognostics which cannot finally be resolved into the Spirit of the only wise immortal God, as into their first author or fountain.

2. But many great divines, many good antiquaries and critics of best note in these latter times, (which would be accounted the most learned,) move question, whether all, or most, or any competent part of those verses which now go under the name of Sibylline oracles be the very same, either for matter or form, with the ancient records, which, it is granted by all, were extant long before our Saviour's coming into the world; or whether most passages in these now extant have not been composed by Christians desirous to make a supplement unto some fragments of the true

originals, which had been lost? To induce this suspicion or opinion, that the volume of oracles now extant is but a supposititious brood of later times, it is plausibly alleged by good writers, that thus much must be granted, or else we must grant, (which may seem worse,) that those mysteries of Christ and his kingdom, which we Christians believe, were more expressly revealed unto the heathen by these supposed prophetesses, than they were to the Jews, God's chosen people, either by Moses or the prophets: for such is the nature and quality of these Sibylline predictions, as now we have them, that they may rather seem to be exegetical explications of Moses and the prophets, than original prophecies, which are for the most part enigmatical or parabolical.

2. All the arguments, notwithstanding, which can be 586
drawn from this or the like topic, are more plausible than pregnant, and, well examined, conclude *aut nihil aut nimium;* which way soever they be drawn or made to look, either they do not reach home to the point in question, or else they overreach or fall awry of it; none of them do punctually fall upon it: for no Christian or heathen writer, whether ancient or modern, hath hitherto made question whether the fourth eclogue of Virgil were penned by this heathen poet, or composed by some which lived after our Saviour's death, in favour of the Christians. Now if we had the notes of that plain song (on which this prince of Latin poets runs such curious descant) in the very characters wherein Sibylla Cumæa left it, (for Virgil, as he himself professeth, was but a commentator upon this one, among many other heathen prophetesses entitled to this name of Sibyl,) I do not see, nor can I conjecture, what passages in the Old Testament do more literally and plainly express the sacred

mysteries concerning Christ and his kingdom, which the evangelists have unfolded unto us, than that one Sibylla did, on whose writings Virgil comments in lofty and curious verse.

3. *The law and prophets* (saith our Saviour) *continued unto John the Baptist.* His meaning is not, that the matter of those writings did then expire, or determine, or that the writings themselves should then become obsolete, or out of use; but rather, that John should take the lamps which they had lighted, and deliver them to such as were to pursue the same course which he after the law and prophets had undertaken. He was *lucerna ardens et lucens,* "a bright and a burning lamp," to enlighten such as lived with him or came after him, to follow his steps with zeal and devotion towards Him whom he did usher into the world. As John's entrance upon his office was a kind of period to the law and prophets, after which there was a new epocha, or distinction of times, to follow; so there was to be a determination of Sibyls' oracles about that time wherein Virgil wrote that fourth eclogue, *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.* Virgil did grossly err in the person or party of whom this prophecy of Sibyl was literally meant, according to the intention of the spirit of divination by which it was first conceived; and err he did, though not so grossly, in the circumstances of the time wherein it was to be accomplished. But these two errors and other circumstances being pardoned, the substance of his discourse or descant upon Sibylla Cumæa's verses is orthodoxal, and such as concludently argues the text whereon he comments to have been originally more than human, truly divine.

4. For however we have learned long ago, that all the gracious promises made by God unto the ancient

Israelites, for continuation of the Aaronical priesthood, and other like prerogatives peculiar to that nation, under the style or tenure of *legnolam*, for ever, were לְעוֹלָם to determine at the revelation of their long expected Messias; and although many Christian writers, well versed in Hebrew antiquaries, assuredly inform us this was an unquestionable tradition amongst the ancient Hebrew rabbins, though now denied; yet no writer, either Jewish or Christian, gives me so full satisfaction in this point as Virgil in the forecited eclogue doth. For after he had said, *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas*, he addeth immediately, *Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.* This implies, that as there was then an end of that age or world 587
wherein Sibylla Cumæa lived, so there was another age or world to begin at the accomplishment of her prophecy, which was to have no period, but to be, as we say, *sæcula sæculorum*, " a world of worlds," or a world without end. Such we Christians believe the kingdom of Christ to be, which was to take its beginning here on earth at the accomplishments of the prophecies concerning his resurrection and exaltation. With his cross or humiliation Virgil meddles not, having transformed all that Sibylla prophesied of him into the similitude of the Roman empire as then it stood, goodly and glorious, and so to continue (as he hoped) with perpetual increase of strength and happiness. If we had all the single threads as Sibylla left them, which this heathen poet hath twisted into these and the like strong lines—

> Jam redit et Virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna:
> Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto—

5. Methinks they might lead us by a compendious and gain way unto a clearer view of many divine

mysteries recorded by sacred writers concerning our Saviour's eternal generation, incarnation, nativity, and propagation of his kingdom, than we can hope to approach unto by the perplexed labyrinths of many modern interpreters, of divers schoolmen, or by any tradition of the ancient Hebrews, as now they are extant. But the exact parallel between the undoubted oracles of God's prophets, and such hints as Virgil descants upon from Sibylla Cumæa, I leave to younger academic divines or moralists. It shall suffice my present purpose to add some one or two more unto the former. The first revelation concerning Christ and his kingdom, which is extant upon sacred record, is that, Gen. iii. 15: *I will put enmity* (said God to the serpent) *between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* That this woman's seed was to be a man, all that believed the truth of Moses' writings did know; but that he was to be the son of a pure virgin, was more (as is most probable) than our mother Evah, more than the father and mother of Noah at the birth of their first-born, did apprehend, and perhaps more than some prophets, and many godly men after them, did explicitly believe. Yet of this mystery that Sibylla whom Virgil follows had certainly a prenotion, though transformed by Virgil into poetical fictions of Astræa: for it is likely by *Jam redit et Virgo, &c.* he meant her return unto the earth. The accomplishment of that first prophecy, Gen. iii. 15, by our Saviour's victory gotten over Satan upon the cross, was first declared by himself after his resurrection to his disciples, Mark xvi. 17, 18: *And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly*

thing, it shall not hurt them, &c. Of all this the heathen Sibylla had a prenotion, expressed by Virgil in few, yet pithy words:

> Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
> Occidet.

6. *The wilderness* (saith the prophet Isaiah, xxxv. 1, 2.) *shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom. It shall blossom abundantly*[a]. And again, chapter xli. 19: *I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the desert the fir tree, and the pine, and the box tree together.* All these and the like expressions of matter of joy in these two chapters, and elsewhere in this prophet, have their parallel in that forecited eclogue; and, as if he had foreseen that which the apostle tells us of, *Ecce vetera præterierunt, nova facta sunt omnia.* 588

CHAP. IX.

Answering the Objections against the former Resolutions; that God did deal better with Israel than with other Nations, although it were granted that other Nations had as perspicuous Predictions of Christ and of his Kingdom as the Israelites had.

BUT if we acknowledge the revelation of these and the like divine mysteries unto the heathen to have

[a] ——Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum. &c. ver. 25.
Molli paullatim flavescet campus arista,
Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva;
Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella. ver. 28.
——Nec nautica pinus
Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores, &c.
Sponte sua sandyx pascentes vestiet agnos. ver. 38.
He concludes—
Adspice, venturo lætantur ut omnia seclo.

been so perspicuous as the Sibylline oracles (whether those which now are extant, or those which Virgil did comment upon) do exhibit, shall we not hereby contradict the psalmist's avouchment of God's special favour to his peculiar people, Psalm cxlvii. 19, 20: *He sheweth his words unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation: and as for his judgments, they have not known them?* For how can it rightly be conceived that he should deal better with Jacob or Israel than with any other people, if it be granted that the Romans or other nations which were, if not by God's command, yet by his permission, depositaries of the Sibylline oracles, had in them as perspicuous testimonies or revelations of Christ, as Jacob and Israel had either in the law or in the prophets? Most certain it is, that the measure of God's gracious dealing with any nation, people, or state, must be taken from the several manner or model of revelations made unto them concerning the incarnation, death and passion, &c. of his only Son, for whose only sake and merits all the blessings which have been,
589 which are, or which shall be bestowed upon the sons of men were first promised or intended unto them; in whom all that have any promise of such blessing, receive their interest and immediate title unto them; by whom and through whom all celestial blessings are actually derived unto and accomplished in all such as having just title make right claim unto them.

2. The psalmist himself (from whose authority this objection is borrowed) affords a fair hint for a right answer unto it. He doth not say that God sheweth his word unto Jacob alone, or that no other nation besides Israel had any knowledge of his word, or prenotion of the Word which was to be made flesh. Wherein then did he deal better with Israel than with

any other nation? In shewing his statutes and judgments unto that nation alone. For albeit the revelations made unto the Sibyls (if now we had the undoubted originals) might be more perspicuous than any prophecy in the Old Testament, or admitting they had been delivered in the selfsame words which God did speak to Moses and the prophets, this would not infer that the ancient heathens had as good means of knowing Christ as Israel had, or that the manner of shewing his words unto both was (as the words are supposed to be) altogether the same. The statutes and judgments which he had given unto Israel only, were given unto this purpose, that the words which he had spoken by Moses and the prophets might make more legible impression in their hearts. Amongst many statutes and judgments peculiar unto Israel, these were principal and fundamental: that the words which God had spoken by Moses and the prophets should be publicly read, often inculcated, and expounded unto them: that all his visitations of this people, whether in mercy whilst they obeyed his voice, or in judgment for their disobedience, should be registered, to remain upon record as so many ruled cases or precedents.

3. To have the mysteries of salvation, however revealed, is a great blessing to any nation. But it is not one and the same blessing to have the ways of life perspicuous in themselves, and to have them made perspicuous unto this or that age or party. This latter blessing even those to whom these Sibylline oracles were imparted did want. And want it they did through their own default, in that they made no better use of these particular prophecies than they had done of the common book of nature, Rom. i. 20, 21. The Lord of heaven and earth was good and gracious unto many heathens, in dispensing or suffering these or the

like crumbs to fall unto them from his children's table; yet not so gracious to them as he was to his children, in that he gave them no laws and ordinances for the publication of these mysteries, or for observing the times wherein they were to be fulfilled. Nor had these heathens the grace or goodness in them to enact public laws for this purpose; but, like that ungracious servant in the Gospel, they held it a point of wisdom to imprison these precious talents in their archives, not to be looked upon but upon occasion of state.

4. But suppose the heathens had been as peremptorily admonished by God himself, or as strictly enjoined by laws of their own making, to acquaint posterity with the Sibylline oracles, as the Israelites were to instruct their children in God's word delivered by Moses, would this have made the meaning of these prophecies, in themselves (as is supposed) most perspicuous, either more perspicuous or more effectual to succeeding generations than they were? God knows that. But the daily experience of this age, of this year
590 current, and of some few late past, will not suffer us not to know, that abundant plenty, either of spiritual food, or of medicines in themselves most divine, though daily administered, doth not always *de facto* purify the hearts of Christians from heathenish humours or diseases. What then is wanting where spiritual meat and medicines do so abound? A want there is, first, of severe discipline, to teach physicians themselves how to dispense the food or physic of life aright; secondly, a greater want there is of coercive laws, (or of the execution of them,) for binding our patients to a right posture or diet, whilst they are under our cure. The loud outcrying sins of these times awake the thoughts of all that are not dead in sin; and the oftener it is thought upon, the more it will be lamented by every

honest heart, that God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that Christ who is God and Man, our gracious Lord and Redeemer, should be more traduced, and more grossly mistransformed through liberty of prophesying (as they term it) amongst us Christians, than they have been in any age before amongst Turks or heathens, which have died in their sins for want of prophesying. But as for Israel of old, they wanted no laws or discipline for these or the like good purposes; and prophecies they had in abundance: only, they were wanting to themselves, in not exercising the discipline, in not executing the laws which God had given them. And unto this defect they added an excess of traditions contrary to the laws appointed them by God, and extremely opposite to wholesome discipline or doctrine.

5. But such Jewish traditions as were contrary to the law of God, how prejudicial soever they were unto their souls which first invented or followed them, do not prejudice us Christians (of this age) half so much as the loss of some Jewish traditions, or rules for interpreting scriptures, which had been constantly received amongst the ancient Hebrew rabbins, but rejected by the later Jewish masters. And it would be a work in itself worthy any one man's labours or works of this life, to retrieve the footsteps or progress of the ancient rabbins, whereof some scattered prints here and there may be observed in ancient writers. That such rules there were constantly received in the time of our Saviour's conversation here on earth (though now either wilfully concealed, or through ignorance not acknowledged by later Jewish rabbins) is hence apparent, in that the mouths of modern Jews are widest open to bark against our interpretation of those passages of Mosaical and prophetical writings,

whose bare allegation, whether made by our Saviour himself, or by his disciples after his resurrection, did stop the mouths of those cruel dogs which sought their lives. What these rules or traditions were in particular, is not of facile conjecture, nay almost impossible to determine. This general notwithstanding is most certain, that God did shew the incarnation, death, and passion of his only Son, even all whatsoever Israel was to believe concerning the person or offices of the expected Messias, or we Christians concerning Jesus Christ and him crucified, not by mere prophecy only, or by words literally and expressly assertive, but withal by signs of the time, by historical events, by matters of fact, by rites and ceremonies, by types and shadows. By all these ways God did speak or declare his purpose: for as the psalmist saith, that *the heavens declare the glory of God; that days and nights have their words so loud and shrill, that their*
591 *sound goes throughout all the world,* Psalm xix; so likewise signs and wonders are said to have their voices—*And it shall be,* saith God to Moses, Exodus iv. 8, *that if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the voice of the first sign,* (which was the reciprocal conversion of Moses' rod into a serpent,) *yet they will believe the voice of the latter sign;* and that was the smiting of Moses' hand with leprosy as white as snow, and restoring it to perfect sound flesh again. If signs and wonders have their voices, then God doth speak unto us by them, as well as by his audible and written word; but even where his written word is for the sense most plain, the matters contained in it have their voice or speech. This manner of God's speaking unto men is excellently expressed by Gregory the First, in the twentieth of his Morals, cap. 1: "To say nothing of the weightiness of the matter or subject, the

scripture excels all other sciences in its peculiar manner of expression: for in plainest and punctual, or textual narrations, it points at mysteries; and it so speaks of matters past, as in them it foretells things to come; and in the very same words records things done and past, and discovers things to be afterwards done[b]."

This passage of St. Gregory refers especially unto historical narrations in scripture, which besides the plain literal, have a further mystical and hidden sense, of both which we are to speak hereafter. The next point in order to be prosecuted is of testimonies or prenotions of Christ merely typical.

CHAP. X.

Of Testimonies in the Old Testament concerning Christ merely typical, and how they do conclude the Truths delivered in the New Testament.

UNDER this title we comprehend all prefigurations of Christ exemplified in the Old Testament by the persons and offices of men, by legal rites and ceremonies, (either annual and solemn, or commanded to be used upon private special occasions,) or by any matter

[b] Quamvis omnem scientiam atque doctrinam scriptura sacra sine aliqua comparatione transcendat, ut taceam quod vera prædicat, quod ad cœlestem patriam vocat, quod a terrenis desideriis ad superna amplectenda cor legentis immutat: quod dictis obscurioribus exercet fortes, et parvulis humili sermone blanditur, quod nec sic clausa est ut pavesci debeat, nec sic patet ut vilescat, quod usu fastidium tollit, et tanto amplius diligitur, quanto amplius meditatur, quod legentis animum humilibus verbis adjuvat, sublimibus sensibus levat, quod aliquo modo cum legentibus crescit, quod a rudibus lectoribus, quasi recognoscitur, et tamen doctis nova semper reperitur. Ut ergo de rerum pondere taceam, scientias tamen omnes atque doctrinas ipso etiam locutionis suæ more transcendit, quia uno eodemque sermone dum narrat textum, prodit mysterium; et sic scit præterita dicere, ut eo ipso noverit futura prædicare, et non immutato dicendi ordine, eisdem ipsis sermonibus novit, et anteacta describere et agenda nunciare. tom. 1. p. 635.

of fact or event, whereto no express prophecy, no assertive notation of him, or application unto him who was to come, is annexed. And herein the wisdom of God appears most admirable, that the contents of every article in the Apostles' Creed were respectively foreshadowed by some one or other of these ways mentioned, and some of them by all. The manner of his conception was clearly prefigured (for substantially represented it could not be) by the conception of Isaac, of Samson, and of Samuel. And that generation wherein he was conceived and born was sufficiently warned to observe these three prefigurations
592 (as then to be accomplished) by the strange conception of John the Baptist. His circumcision, with the mysteries implied in it, or subsequent unto it, were foreshadowed in the covenant established between God and Abraham in the circumcision of Isaac. Of his baptism, (though that be not expressed in our Creed,) the washing of the high priest's body in the day of atonement was a type. Of his leading into the wilderness (upon the same day) to be tempted by Satan, the ceremony of the scape-goat was a true prognostic. Of his appearing in the form of a servant, and of his performance of all the duties which can be required from a servant in the most exquisite manner that can be imagined, holy Job was more than a type, a living shadow. Of all his troubles, and deliverance from them, his father David was a live example. Of his depression by his envious and malicious brethren, and of his exaltation by the immediate hand of God, the history of Joseph and of his brethren exhibits an illustrious image. Of his death upon the cross, and the glorious victory obtained thereby over Satan, the brazen serpent erected by Moses in the wilderness was a conspicuous hieroglyphic. His inclosure three

days and three nights in the womb of the earth, and his resurrection from the grave, were portended by the imprisonment of Jonas in the whale's belly, and by his deliverance thence. And of his resurrection in particular, the offering of the first-fruits in the feast of unleavened bread, from the first institution of that solemnity, was an annual sign or token. Of his celestial kingdom of peace, Solomon's glory and peaceable reign here on earth was an exquisite map. Of his ascension into heaven, the translations of Enoch and Elias were undoubted pledges. The eternity of his person, and everlasting duration of his priesthood, were exquisitely foreshadowed, the one by the person, the other by the priesthood of Melchisedec. The full view and contemplation of these and the like types, and the examination of their congruity with the live body, to wit, Christ, whom in some part or other every one of them did forepicture, we must refer unto the explication of the several articles in this Creed, whereunto they do respectively appertain.

2. The rule or topic for demonstrating the truth of every article by these and the like types is the same with that forementioned in the former chapters concerning testimonies merely prophetical, or predictions of future events, as yet not extant in any causes visible or comprehensible by art. To draw an exact picture of a child as yet unborn, or whose parents at this time are not conceived, is a skill as impossible for any painter or limner to attain, as it is for an astrological physician to describe the nature, complexion, or disposition of men that shall have no actual being or existence till he be dead. Now Christ's acts and offices, his humiliation and exaltation, were not more exactly foredescribed or displayed by the prophets, than they were forepictured or foreshadowed by historical events or

legal types. Every such type or event was a real or substantial, though a silent prophecy; and the most express prophecy concerning Christ was but a speaking type or vocal shadow. The Spirit of God did speak by the one, and signify his purpose by the other: his wisdom in both is alike admirable. The most exquisite artist living cannot take so true a proportion of a man's face, as itself, without any art or invention, will draw in a true glass; yet this we admire not, because
593 it is ordinary. But to make as perfect a resemblance of a man's visage by a chaos of chimeras, or painted devices which represent no visible creature if you look upon them single or transmit their shapes into a plain glass, might well seem an invention surpassing all skill of art, if a late artist had not given us an ocular demonstration of this skill, in thus representing the perfect visage of that great and famous prince, Henry the Fourth of France: however there be no resemblance of any human face, or of any part thereto belonging, in the painted base; yet the reflection of such incondite figures or confused fancies as are thereon painted, falling upon a column of brass, or bell-metal glazed with latten, placed in the centre or point assigned in the plain table by the author of this invention, doth effigiate this great prince's visage and countenance as perfectly as any picture which hath been taken of him in his lifetime. The skill in this device is so admirable, as it would require but a very little skill in rhetoric to persuade an illiterate man which hath seen him living, that his ghost were present, (though invisible to bystanders,) looking upon itself in this artificial visible glass: yet all this skill exhibited in this master piece of modern inventions, how admirable soever it may seem to men not exercised in the like, is comprehensible to accurate artists

in this kind, and can afford no true illustration of the incomprehensible wisdom of God, in forepicturing Christ with his acts and offices. Of this incomprehensible wisdom we have a better model, by adding this supposition or fiction to the former invention—that an hundred picture-makers or more, having had free liberty one after another to draw their lines and postures upon the same table, (none of them acquainting another with his intention or work,) should have framed such a true representation as this now extant is of Henry the Fourth, French king, in the age before he was born. But after a more admirable manner than this fiction supposeth, were Christ and his cross, &c. forepictured by matters of fact, by historical events, by types and ceremonies, and by the concurrence with these of men's free actions and intentions, which knew not one another, much less had notice of their purposes, the last of them living more than four hundred years before Christ was conceived.

For the right apprehension or emblazoning these merely typical representations of Christ, no artificial skill is more useful than the true art of heraldry, or skill in hieroglyphics; and no kind of learning more useful for the right apprehension of the third kind of testimonies or prenotions concerning Christ, than the insight in emblems, devices, or impresses.

CHAP. XI.

Of Testimonies concerning Christ typically prophetical or prophetically typical, and of their concludent Proof.

MERE types are true hieroglyphics, and hieroglyphics are as bodies without souls; that is, pictures without inscriptions. Emblems or impresses must have both body and soul, a device with its inscription or motto. And so do testimonies of the third rank

594 proposed concerning Christ, consist of a type as the body or device, and have words prophetical annexed, as the soul or breath. And this kind of testimony or prenotion of Christ is of two sorts; either typical and prophetical, or prophetical and typical. That some difference there was betwixt these two expressions, not only in the order or placing of the words, but in the matter also thus transplaced, was intimated before, chapter 5. Wheresoever the type hath precedence, or is concomitant to the inscription annexed unto it, yet so as both point at Christ to come, there the testimony or proof is typically prophetical: where the words or prophecy have precedence of the type, and both refer unto Christ, the proof or prenotion is prophetically typical. That the ceremony of the paschal lamb was instituted by God himself to prefigure or forepicture our Saviour Christ, no Christian denies: and one law concerning the paschal lamb was, that *not a bone thereof should be broken*, Exod. xii. 46. The words of this law were no prediction in respect of the first institution of the passover, but an appendix or concomitant; and yet a most remarkable prophecy in respect of our Saviour Christ, in the manner of whose death both the type and the law of the type were by God's admirable providence exactly fulfilled. *Then came the soldiers*, saith St. John, *and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs: but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side.* That our apostle St. John did take both these events as a concludent proof that Christ was the true Lamb of God foreshadowed by the paschal, is apparent from his emphatical expression of his observation upon it: *He that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and*

he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe. For these things were done, that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again, Zechariah xii. 10, *They shall look on him whom they have pierced.* John xix. 32—37.

2. Those words of the prophet Hosea, chap. xi. 1, according to their literal sense, refer to an historical event forepast; *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and I called my son out of Egypt.* They bear no semblance of prophecy in respect of the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt by Moses; but both this deliverance and the prophet's observation upon it have a peculiar aspect unto Christ, who was by divine appointment to sojourn a while in Egypt, but to be called thence: so as the same words which are an historical narration in respect of the type, (to wit, Israel, or the sons of Jacob brought out of Egypt by Moses,) are an express prophecy of Christ's coming thence, with Joseph and his mother, into the land of promise. That speech of the psalmist likewise, Psalm cxviii. 22, *The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner,* doth allude or refer unto some historical event then fresh in memory. They contain no prophecy in respect of the event, whatsoever that were, yet are they a most true concludent prophecy of Christ's exaltation by his Father after his rejection by the priests and elders: so our Saviour interprets it, Matt. xxi. 42. All these three testimonies mentioned, consisting both of word and matter of fact, are first typical, then prophetical; but oftentimes the same words (though not always according to the same sense) are prophetical as well in respect of the type as of the antitype, and then the proof or testimony is prophetically typical, or merely prophetical from their first date, and afterwards, in process of time, 595

both typical and prophetical. Of this rank is that prediction made to David, 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13, &c.: *And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men: but my mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee: thy throne shall be established for ever.* Of the same rank and order is that repetition of this promise, Psalm lxxxix. 20—37. Both places contain an express prophecy of God's favour unto David and to his posterity, and both include the prerogative of Solomon above all kings that had gone before him. And yet, inasmuch as Solomon in the height of his glory was but a shadow or picture (though a fair one) of the Son of God, who was to be made the Son of David likewise, the same words which were undoubtedly verified of Solomon in his time were afterwards exactly fulfilled in Christ, who was the living person or substance whom Solomon did forepicture. No Christian can, no Jew will deny these words of the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxii. 20, 21, 22, &c. to be prophetical in the first place of Eliakim's advancement to be chief master or high-steward over the house of David in Shebna's stead: *And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah: and I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his*

hand: and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah. And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open. And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and he shall be for a glorious throne to his father's house. And they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's house, &c. But inasmuch as Eliakim both by name and office did but prefigure or delineate Christ in his acts and office, the same words which were literally meant of Eliakim are in a more exquisite sense fulfilled in Christ. But of the several senses of scriptures, and how the scriptures are said according to these several senses to be fulfilled, somewhat in the two next chapters following.

These proofs or testimonies whereof we now treat, whether typically prophetical or prophetically typical, are in number many, and of all the rest more concludent to readers but ordinarily observant: for they contain the entire force and strength of the two former proofs or testimonies (merely typical or merely prophetical) by way of union, and it is universally true, *Vis unita semper fortior.*

3. Imagine a man of ordinary insight in architecture should come into some large and curious palace (or city) newly built, and after a diligent survey of the form and fashion of every particular room, house, or street, should find a model of elder date than the work itself, which did bear the just proportion and inscription of every room or building; this would resolve him that such exact correspondency could not fall out by chance, but that the city or palace had been built by his directions which made the model, or by some others which made use of his skill, albeit no handy workman employed in the building, albeit none 596

but the architect or general director, did perceive as much. Thus all historical events related in the New Testament concerning Christ's birth, his death and passion, &c., have their exact maps or models drawn in the history of the Old Testament, besides the express prophetical inscriptions which instruct us how to refer or compare every part of the legal or historical model unto the evangelical edifice answering to it. This to every observant reader is a concludent proof that one and the same Spirit did both forecast the models, and in the fulness of time accomplish the work itself, to wit, the building up of Zion and Jerusalem, though this he effected (as master-builders in like cases do) by the hands of inferior workmen, not acquainted nor comprehensive of his project or contrivances.

4. *Every house,* saith the apostle, Heb. iii. 4, *is builded by some man; but he that built all things is God.* This power of God, by which he made all things, even the materials of all things whereon men do work, doth not further exceed the power of other builders, than the wisdom of the same God, which is manifested in the edifice of the heavenly temple, doth surpass all skill or contrivance of the most skilful architects or projectors. For whatsoever is by them forecast or projected doth never prosper, never come to any perfection, unless the workmen employed by them follow their rules or directions. But this greatest work of God, the erection or edification of his church, did then go best forward when the workmen or builders employed about it did forsake his counsel, and followed the directions of his malicious adversary, who sought the confusion both of it and them. He built up the kingdom of Zion and Jerusalem in peace, without let or interruption, even whilst the master-builders designed by him did lay the foundation, or

chief corner stone of it, in blood. And after it was so laid, did accomplish whatsoever he would have done in this great work by the hands of such workmen as did nothing less than what he would have had them to do. Though Judas, one of the twelve, by Satan's suggestion did betray his Lord; though the high priest and elders became the devil's agents to condemn him; and though Pilate, lastly, turned Satan's deputy to sentence him to death; yet all these did that which the most wise, most righteous, and most merciful God had foredetermined to be done: *Those things,* saith Peter, Acts iii. 18, *which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.* Yet, saith St. Paul, Acts xiii. 27: *They that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voice of the prophets, which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.* So then God is said to fulfil all things which were written of Christ, because he did order and direct all the counterplots and malicious intentions of his enemies according to the models and inscriptions which had been exhibited in the Old Testament. Judas's treachery against his Lord and Master, with its accursed success, was exactly forepictured by Achitophel's treason against David. The malice of the high priest and elders was foretold and forepictured by the like proceeding of their predecessors against Jeremiah, and other of God's prophets, which were Christ's forerunners, and types and shadows of his persecutions. They then fulfilled the scriptures in doing the same things that their predecessors had done, (but in a worse manner and degree,) albeit they had no intention or aim to work according to those models which their prede- 597
cessors had framed; nor to do that unto Christ which

the prophets had foretold should be done unto him; for so St. Peter, Acts iii. 17: *Now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers.*

5. But here I must request all such as read these and the like passages of scriptures, not to make any other inferences or constructions of the Holy Ghost's language or manner of speech than such as they naturally import, and such as are congruous to the rule of faith. If we say no more than this; 'God did order or direct the avarice of Judas, the malice of the high priest, the popularity of Herod, and ambition of Pilate, for accomplishing of that which he had foredetermined concerning Christ,' we shall retain *the form of wholesome doctrine.* In thus speaking and thinking, we think and speak as the Spirit teacheth us. But if any shall say or think that God did ordain either Judas to be covetous, or the high priest to be malicious, or Herod and Pilate to be popular and ambitious, to this end and purpose, that they might respectively be the betrayers and murderers of the Son of God, this is dangerous. The orthodoxal truth, and wholesome form of expressing it in this and the like point, is acutely set down in that distinction, which (for aught I find) was unanimously embraced by the ancients, and by all at this day that be moderate acknowledged to be true; *Deus ordinavit lapsum Adami: non ordinavit ut Adamus laberetur;* God did dispose or order Adam's fall, (for, by his all-seeing providence and all-ruling power, he turned his fall into his own and our greater good,) but he did not decree, ordain, or order, that Adam should fall, or commit that transgression by which he fell. For so he should have been the author both of Adam's first sin, and of all the sins which are necessarily derived to us from him. For no

man, I think, will deny that God is the sole author of all his own ordinances and decrees, or of whatsoever he hath foredecreed or foredetermined us for to do.

CHAP. XII.

Of the several Senses of Scripture, especially of the literal and mystical.

WITHOUT knowledge of scriptures there can be no true knowledge of Christ, and to know the scriptures is all one as to know the true sense and meaning of them intended by the Holy Spirit. I will not here dispute whether every portion of scripture in the Old Testament admit more senses intended by the Holy Spirit than one, or whether in some sense or other every passage in Moses's writings, in the prophets, in the book of Psalms, or sacred histories, do point either immediately or mediately at Christ, or at *him that was to come.* But that divers places alleged by the evangelist out of the Old Testament, to prove that Jesus whom the Jews did crucify was their expected Messias, admit more senses, I take as granted. The question is, how many senses either the places alleged by the evangelists or apostles, or other passages in the Old Testament, may respectively admit. And in this query I will not be contentious, but only crave that 598
liberty which I willingly grant to others in all like cases, that is, to make mine own division, and to follow mine own expressions of every several sense or branch of this division, that so I may refer the particular explication of every type, of every prophecy or other prenotion of Christ which hath been fulfilled, without perplexity or confusion, to its proper or general head. That sense of scripture, in my expression, may haply be referred unto the literal, which in some other men's language would be accounted figurative or allegorical.

That sense again (according to my division) may be reduced unto the literal, mystical, or moral, which some great divines make a distinct sense from all these, to wit, anagogical. Or admitting all these and more senses of scriptures, I may perhaps sometimes touch upon another sense, which is not (to my apprehension) reducible to any of these.

2. The several senses of scriptures (especially such as more immediately point at Christ) cannot be better notified, or more commodiously reduced to their several heads, than by a review of the several ways by which God from the beginning did intimate or manifest his will, his good will towards mankind, in *him and through him which was to come.* And the ways by which God did manifest Christ to come were in the general two; either by words assertive, and express prediction, or by way of picture and representation, or by a concurrence of both: which third way is no way opposite to the two former, but rather a friendly combination of them. The second branch of this division, to wit, prenotions of Christ representative, may (as heretofore it hath been) be subdivided into representations real, as by type, historical event, or other matter of fact; or into representations merely literal, verbal, or nominal. The first general branch of this division, (that is, prenotions of Christ delivered in words expressly assertive,) exhibit to us that which we commonly call the literal or grammatical sense. For that (as best divines agree) is the literal sense or meaning of the Holy Spirit which is immediately signified by words assertive, whether legal, prophetical, or historical, without any intercourse or intervention of any type or matter of fact. Whether the words be logical and proper, allegorical or otherwise figurative, skills not much. The variety of expressions by

words assertive, if so the words immediately express the matter foretold without intervention of type or matter of fact, doth not divide or diversify the literal sense: as when God foretold that *the wilderness should be planted with pleasant trees*, Isa. xli. 19, &c.—that *the wolf should dwell with the lamb*—that *the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together*—the form of speech is figurative, and (in the language of secular rhetoricians) allegorical: and so that other of the vineyard, Isaiah v. is parabolically figurative: and yet the sense of all these places is in the school of divinity as truly literal, as when it is said, *The woman's seed shall bruise the serpent's head*, or that *in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed.* For by the trees wherewith the wilderness was to be planted, by the wolf and by the lamb, by the leopard and the kid, &c. divers sorts of men were immediately meant: and to the fulfilling of all or any of the prophecies it was not required that there should be a transformation either of men into trees, leopards, wolves, or lions, &c., or of these or like creatures into men. For however the sense of scripture in all these places be literal, yet it is literally 599
allegorical. And of the literal or verbal allegory that maxim is most true, *Sensus allegoricus non est argumentativus;* "No firm argument can be drawn from the allegorical, parabolical, or other figurative signification of words:" as we may not infer that the wilderness was to be planted with trees, or that the wolf and the lamb, the leopard and the kid, were to consort as well together on dry land as sometimes they did in Noah's ark whilst the deluge lasted, before these prophecies could be fulfilled according to the literal sense, as this sense in the language of the Holy Ghost is

opposed unto the allegorical: for that in the apostle's language is said to be spoken allegorically which is not immediately foretold or signified by words, (whether proper or figurative,) but foreshadowed by some real event, by men's persons or their offices, or by matter of type or fact: *It is written*, saith our apostle, Gal. iv. 22—24, *that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants.* The evangelical mysteries implied in this allegory, and unfolded by our apostle, were not immediately notified by any words or proposition in the history of Sarah and Hagar and their sons, but only forepictured by matter of fact, or by the things themselves which the words according to the literal sense did immediately foresignify. For the word *Hagar* did in that story literally signify 'Sarah's handmaid or bondwoman.' But this bondwoman and her son, and their estate or condition of life, did excellently represent the estate and condition of such as did adhere unto the law after the gospel was proclaimed. And the gospel, with the happy estate of such as embrace it, was not foresignified by the name *Sarah*, or by the name *Isaac*, but by their estate and condition who were so named. Most of our apostle's arguments throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews are drawn, not from the literal, but from the allegorical sense. Yet God forbid that we should say or think that his arguments did not conclude. I should rather say, (if it be lawful to compare sacred testimonies or authorities one with another,) that arguments drawn from the allegorical sense of scriptures are most admirably, if not most firmly concludent: for they are arguments of pro-

portion, and presuppose four terms at the least, either expressed or implied. And the allegorical sense of scriptures always includes the mystical, though the mystical doth not always include the allegorical: for wheresoever any evangelical mystery was foreshadowed by any type, by any historical event or matter of fact, there is a latent mystical sense, though not expressed by words or letters.

3. But it oftentimes so falls out, and (as I take it) always in testimonies either typically prophetical or prophetically typical, that there is an inseparable concurrence or combination of the literal and mystical sense, though not always after the same manner: sometimes the literal sense, according to the same propriety or signification of words, doth fit the antitype or body as well as the type or shadow; as whether we apply that speech, Exod. xii. 46, *Ye shall not break a bone thereof*, unto the paschal lamb, or to Christ, who was mystically foreshadowed by it, the literal sense is the very same, there is no variety in the signification of the words. Christ had as true bones as the paschal lamb, and the preservation of his bones was literally foreprophesied in the law concern- 600
ing the paschal lamb, but withal mystically forepictured by the observance or practice of that law. Sometimes again the literal sense doth better befit the antitype than the type; as those words forementioned, 2 Sam. vii. 14, *I will be his father, and he shall be my son*, are more proper in respect of Christ who was the antitype, than of Solomon who was the type or shadow of his sonship. So that our Saviour's incarnation or nativity is collaterally foreprophesied with the nativity of Solomon; and his royal office, and favour with God mystically foresignified by Solomon's person and office.

4. But many times the expressions of the Holy Ghost (as well in testimonies typically prophetical as prophetically typical) are like inscriptions or mottos in impresses or emblems. Now these inscriptions, besides the plain literal native sense of the words, have a further symbolical importance, or moral signification. No man that sees that device of bulrushes couched in a swelling stream, with this inscription, *Flectimur, non frangimur undis*, but will acknowledge the plain literal sense to point immediately at them: yet besides this literal sense, they have this symbolical importance, (partly implied in the words themselves, and partly represented by the body of the device,) that he which gave this device had learned that lesson of the poet, *Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori*, that he was resolved to stoop a while unto the iniquity of the times, not without hope to bear up his head again, and to overtop his adversaries, after the present tyranny were overpast, as bulrushes do the waters wherein they grow, when the flood (unto whose violence for a while they yielded) hath spent its strength. That forecited saying of the psalmist, Psalm cxviii. 22—*The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes*—according to the literal sense, is terminated to an historical event then present, or fresh in memory; and, if we may rely upon the authority of the author of the Scholastic History[a], the historical

[a] Ad literam traditur fuisse paratus lapis ad templi ædificium, nec tamen congrue in eo poni potuit, donec consummato opere in angulo sursum positus est ita congrue, quod mirarentur omnes, nec præter significationem factum intelligerent: hic est Christus qui fundamentum est, ita quod structuræ supereminet. Quod cum audissent sacerdotes et Pharisæi, voluerunt eum tenere, sed timuerunt turbas.—Petrus Commestor in Histor. Evang. cap. 127.

event, or matter of fact, to which these words literally and immediately refer, was a remarkable stone, for which the builders of the temple could find no convenient place in the intermediate structure, which yet unexpectedly proved the fittest corner-stone or *finisher* that they could have desired. This, saith he, was even then acknowledged not to fall out by mere chance, or without some further portending meaning or signification. The exceptions taken against this tradition avouched by this author, Petrus Comestor, are (to men acquainted with the manner of sacred expressions of things to come) so weak, that they add strength unto it. But whatsoever the historical event were at which these words in the literal sense immediately point, we Christians know that in the symbolical or spiritual sense they refer to Christ. His exaltation unto majesty and glory, after the chief rulers of the temple had cast him aside, and rejected him as not fit to be entertained amongst God's people, was mystically foreshadowed by that matter of fact or historical event whereof the psalmist speaks, (whatsoever that were,) yet not expressly foretold according to the direct literal sense of his words, but only signified according to the symbolical importance. After the same manner the forecited words of the prophet Isaiah, xxii. 22—*The* 601
key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open—do in their literal and native sense immediately point at Eliakim, of whose office in the house of David a material and visible key was the ensign or pledge, as the like is of some great offices in modern princes' courts. But according to the emblematical or symbolical importance, both key and office, both inscription and matter of fact, refer unto the spiritual invisible power of the Son of David, *who*

hath the keys of hell and of death, Rev. i. 18; the keys likewise of the kingdom of heaven; and where he openeth, no power in heaven or earth can shut, nor open where he is pleased to shut.

That which some call *the moral sense of scriptures* is always reducible to this general branch last mentioned; to wit, to the emblematical or symbolical importance of the words expressed, as they concur with matter of fact or real representation. Only there may be a moral sense where there is no prophecy, no representation truly mystical: as when it is written, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treadeth out the corn;* this law was to be observed according to the plain literal sense: and yet both the law itself, and its observance from the first date of the letter, had that moral which the apostle makes, *That such as serve at the altar should live by the altar.*

5. To this branch likewise belong all the significations of legal ceremonies which do not immediately point at Christ, in whom they were exactly fulfilled, but at moral duties, to be performed as well by us Christians as by the ancient Jews: *Christ our Passover* (saith the apostle, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.) *is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.* This was the true moral of that legal observance of the feast of unleavened bread, which was to be kept according to the strict letter of the law whilst the law of ceremonies was in force. Concerning this symbolical or moral sense, (especially when it is not prophetical,) Maldonate's advice is very good—He that will search after such senses must hold close to the letter: *Propius mihi rupertus videtur in quærendo morali sensu ad literalem accessisse; quod semper facien-*

dum esse ei, qui ridiculus esse nolit, sæpe monuimus. And of allegorical, mystical, or symbolical senses, which are prophetical or prefigurative, none are current or concludent, but such as hold exact proportion with the sense historical.

6. Some good divines there be, which would have an anagogical sense distinct from all these mentioned. The allegorical, spiritual, or mystical sense is by them limited to matters already accomplished in the gospel, whereas the anagogical reacheth to matters of the world to come. But this difference in the subject or time unto which whether words or matters sacred refer, makes no formal difference in the sense or manner of the prediction or prefiguration. Whatsoever is in scripture foresignified or intimated concerning the state and condition of the life to come, is either literally foretold by express words, or mystically foreshadowed by matter of fact, or notified by some concurrence of prediction and representation; and so may be reduced to one or other of the senses mentioned, either to the mere literal or to the merely mystical, or to the literally or symbolically mystical or spiritual sense.

CHAP. XIII. 602

Of the literal Sense of Scripture not assertive, but merely characterical.

BUT divine mysteries (as was intimated before) are sometimes neither notified by express prediction, or words assertive; nor by matter of fact, historical event, or type; nor by the person's actions, or offices of men; but represented only by words or names, by notes or letters, or other secret characters of speech. Now this manner of representing mysteries divine produceth a sense of scripture distinct from all the

former, which can hardly be comprehended under one certain denomination, unless it be under this negative—*the literal sense not assertive:* or, if the reader desire a positive expression of it, he may term it *the characterical sense.* To begin with the first words of scripture, *In the beginning* (saith Moses) *bara Elohim, the Lord created,* &c. Although these words be assertive, yet the mystery of the Trinity is not avouched in logical assertion or proposition, but only represented or insinuated in the peculiar form or character of the grammatical construction, if haply it be here either represented or intimated at all. For some both judicious divines and great Hebricians there be, as well in the Romish as in the reformed churches, who will acknowledge no intimation of any mystery in this conjunction of a noun plural with a verb singular; but tell us this form of speech is usual in the Hebrew dialect, as the like is in some cases in the Greek: for the Grecians (as every grammar scholar knows) join nouns of the neuter gender plural with verbs of the singular number, as ζῶα τρέχει. These men's authority would sway much with me, if I did not find it counterpoised by observation of Wolphgangus Capito, an exquisite Hebrician, and discrete searcher of the mystical sense of scriptures. Now, if his observation do not fail him, the construction of verbs singular with nouns plural is never used amongst Hebrew writers, unless the noun do want the singular number. In this case alone they do not extend the signification of the verb into such plurality as is in the noun, contrary to the use of the Latins, who, to make the adjective and substantive agree in number, stretch *unum,* one, or unity itself, into a plural form, as *unæ literæ, una mœnia;* which would be a harsh kind of speech in our

English or modern tongues. But the plural *Elohim* (as Capito[a] well observes) doth not want its proper singular *Eloah:* therefore unless the Holy Ghost had intended the notification of some mystery in the form or character of his speech, Moses would rather have said *Barah Eloah,* than *Barah Elohim.*

2. I am the more inclined to this opinion, because many of the ancient and most orthodoxal writers observe a more distinct expression of the blessed Trinity throughout divers places of the first chapter of Genesis, from the repetition of the name of *God* or *Elohim* in the more perfect works of several days: as in the work of the fourth day, ver. 14, *And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens:* this is the voice of God the Father giving out his fiat: and it is repeated again ver. 16; *And God made two great lights:* this refers to God the Son, by whom all things were made, and by whom 603
these lights were set in the firmament, ver. 17. It is lastly added, ver. 18, *And God saw that it was good:* the note or character of the Holy Ghost approving what was made by the Son from the authority of the Father. So Moses again describes the works of the fifth day; *And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly,* ver. 20: and in the 21st he repeats again, *And God created great whales,* &c.: and again, *God saw that it was good.* When it is said, ver. 22, of the same day's work, *And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply,* this may refer unto the three Persons jointly. So in the works of the sixth day, ver. 24, *God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind,* &c.: and it is repeated again, ver. 25; *And God made the beast of the earth after*

[b] See Capito in his Hexameron, and Paulus Fagius in his several comments upon this place.

his kind, &c.: *and God saw that it was good.* But when Moses comes to the accomplishment of the sixth day's work, ver. 26, he alters the form or character of speech, and makes the verb, as well as the noun, plural: *And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.* This order observed by the ancients in the first creation of all things is admirably exemplified in the manner of man's redemption, wrought by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost jointly, yet not without distinction of order in their joint working, in their undivided work. But of this, by the assistance of this blessed Trinity, hereafter.

3. But however the ancients, or such as follow them, may fail in this or the like particular search of mysteries, from no better hint than the repetition of the same words or matter; yet their endeavour in the general to find out deep hidden mysteries, from these or the like superficial or characterical prenotions, is warranted by the word of God, according to its literal or assertive sense: for so we are taught by Moses, that such repetition of the same things as in secular sciences would incur suspicion of tautology, or superfluity of words, may be the undoubted character of some matter more than ordinary, and more observable than if it had been represented but once, or after one manner only. A secular soothsayer, or professed interpreter of nocturnal representations, would have sought after more interpretations than one of Pharaoh's two dreams; especially seeing the matter represented to him in the first vision was so unlike to the matter represented in the second; yet Joseph, by the guidance of God's Spirit, discovers these two dreams, though distinct in time and manner of representation, to be for substance but one: *And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh is one: God hath*

shewed Pharaoh what he is about to do. The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one. And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine, Gen. xli. 25, 26, &c. *And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice; it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.*

4. When we say, an honest man's word should be as good as his oath, we suppose that this moral integrity or perfection in man hath a far more exquisite pattern in God. He is no less immutable in his promises than in his oath; it is impossible for him to change his mind, or to deceive men in the one as in the other. To what end then doth he so often interpose his oath, sometimes when he denounceth judgment, otherwhiles for the consolation of men, and confirmation of their belief in his gracious promises? Sure it is one thing to say, God's purpose, will, or promise is immutable; another, that the thing purposed, willed, or promised 604
by him is immutable. The absolute immutability of his purpose or promise can yield us no full assurance that the things promised or purposed by him are unchangeable, or that sentence denounced (though in terms peremptory) is irreversible: but unto whatsoever promise or sentence we find his oath annexed, it is an undoubted character, a note most infallible, that the thing promised is unalterable, that the sentence so denounced is irreversible. This is one of the most catholic rules for the right interpreting of many, and for the reconciliation of divers scriptures, which otherwise seem most opposite: but the proof and use of this rule will come under a more full examination in the

Vide authorem incognitum dictum (id est Aguanum ut Lorinus sæpius monet) et patres quos in hunc finem citat, in Psalmum cx.

treatise of our Saviour's consecration to his everlasting Priesthood; and in some other discussions—in what sense God is said to repent, in what cases not to repent; for both assertions are frequent in scriptures.

5. Sometimes divine mysteries are represented not in some one word or name, but in the very character or frame of some one letter, or in the addition of a letter or point. There is no question amongst us Christians, but that he who called unto Moses (Levit. i. 1.) from the mercy-seat (as we gather from Numb. vii.) was the Son of God, the eternal Word, who since hath taken our nature upon him, and calleth unto us with a voice and mouth truly human, though the voice and mouth of God. But at that time he called to Moses, not in a loud and thundering voice, (like that in mount Sinai,) but with a soft and gentle voice. And this gentleness of the voice, (as the Hebrew doctors observe—and some good Christian Hebricians approve their observation,) with the mystery foreshadowed by it, is charactered unto us by the extraordinary smallness of one letter in the original word.

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Vide Ainsworth in Levit. i. 1.

6. The like mystery is represented unto us after the same manner, Isaiah ix. 7, &c. The prophet, displaying the titles of the Messias and his kingdom, (contrary to the rules of ordinary orthography,) *mutat quadrata rotundis*, begins the Hebrew word rendered by our English, "of the increase," with *mem rotundum*, with a round letter instead of a square. And this unusual character the Jews themselves acknowledge to be a note of some mystery, (as one of them [b], being converted to Christianity, observes against his

[b] Johannes Baptista in confutatione Hebraicæ sectæ, prima pars de primo Messiæ adventu, fol. 12. dictioni primæ Pematbe litera, quæ mem rotunda apud vos nuncupatur, contra regulam grammaticalem vestram ibi imponitur, quod quidem mysterium æternitati imperii, vestri recte attribuunt, per verba prophetæ

brethren, *which love darkness more than light.*) The mystery notified in this particular (as this author tells us) is by their own rules, in cases wherein they are no parties engaged, the same with that which is immediately after expressed in words assertive and plain: *That of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.* I refer the observation of the like characterical representations unto the diligent readers of the Old Testament in the original tongue, or of ancient Hebrew commentators, whose testimonies [c] in many cases, where they are no parties, are no way to be contemned. And amongst other branches of that rule for interpreting scriptures which was constantly received amongst the ancient Jews, (as Peter Martyr and Bucer, with others, some- 605
where observe,) this representation of divine mysteries

immediate sequentia, (ut confirmet illud) et corroboret in judicio et justitia a modo usque in sempiternum; quamvis ipsi prophetam de Ezechia loqui dicant, quorum falsitas ex eo patet, quod hæc perpetuitas in Ezechiæ imperio visa non est. Bene autem in Christo Jesu, ut scripturæ omnes testantur, et experientia docet, verificatum videmus.

[c] Porro placet, Christiane lector te hic admonere, hanc vocem תולדות ubique in Bibliis Hebraicis defective, hoc est, sine vau altero scribi, exceptis duobus locis אלה תולדות השמים. Et eo qui extat in libello Ruth cap. ultimo, ואלה תולדות פרץ, id est, *Et istæ sunt generationes Peretz*, &c. In quibus tantum duobus locis תולדות uti vides, integre scribitur, alias semper sine vau, cum puncto holem loco vau posito, hoc modo תולדות vel תולדות. Causam nostri hanc assignant: omnes generationes imperfectas esse, præter generationem cœli et terræ a Deo productam et generationem Messiæ, qui juxta carnem e familia Peretz, unde et rex David prodiit, natus est. Qui Deus et homo est, et ab incorrupta virgine, operatione Spiritus Sancti, absque omni peccatorum labe, in hunc mundum editus. Nihil tale enim edit caro et sanguis. Et veteres etiam doctiores Hebræi perhibent תולדות hic integre scribi, propter Messiæ ex familia Peretz oriundi nativitatem, quod ea futura esset absque omni defectu, ut nulla alia.—Paulus Fagius in Gen. ii. 4. pag. 36.

by letters or characters unusual, might, for aught I know, be one.

7. As for the representation of like mysteries by proper names of men especially, who by their place or office were types or forerunners of Christ, that (I presume) no sober Christian will except against, or call in question. And this representation, or prenotification of future mysteries, was exhibited, either in the first imposition of names, or in the change of names, or in the several use of divers names, when the same party retained more names than one. There was scarce a son of Jacob, whose name did not imply a kind of prophecy: Rachel did truly prophecy of the state and condition of the Benjamites, when she called the father of that tribe at his birth *Benoni*, "the son of her sorrow;" and Jacob did as truly prophecy when he changed his name into *Benjamin*, "the son of his right hand." Nun the Ephraimite did call his son *Hoseah* by divine instinct or direction; and Moses did truly prophesy, when he changed his name into *Jehoshua*. With what intention Isaac or Rebecca did call their younger son *Jacob*, I know not; or whether they had any other motive (known to themselves) to give him this name, besides that which the manner of his birth did minister, for he caught hold of his brother's heel in the birth. But this name, *Jadgnakab*, "hand in heel," made afterwards by close composition (as it seems) *Jagnakab*, did (as the attempt signified by it in the birth) portend that he should supplant his elder brother, and get the birthright from him.

8. After this name given him by his parents, he was in his full age named *Israel* by God himself, by way of addition only, without any change or determination of his former name, or the omen of it. But it is not without observation why he is sometimes called

Jacob, sometimes ***Israel***, in the same continued historical narration; the name ***Jacob*** characterizing his present infirmity, the name ***Israel*** notifying his recovering or gathering of strength. But one of the most admirable prerepresentations literal not assertive, of mysteries plainly afterward avouched and fulfilled, which I have either observed or found observed by others, is in the Benedictus, Luke i. 68, &c.: ***Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David***, &c.; ***to perform the mercy promised to our forefathers, and to remember his holy covenant; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life.*** The sum of that which God had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets, which had been since the world began, was now reavouched by Zacharias (being filled with the Holy Ghost) in a literal assertive sense, plain and easy even to the capacity of the natural man. And yet the sum of all which Zacharias by the spirit of prophecy did now utter was clearly re- 606
presented (to men of spiritual understanding in the scriptures, or experienced in their spiritual sense) in the very names of John Baptist and of his parents. For ***Zacharias*** (the Baptist's father) is by interpretation "the remembrance of God;" ***Elizabeth*** (his mother) as much as "the oath of God;" and the name ***John*** imports "the free grace of God:" and all these put together sound as much as that God did now remember his people with that grace which he had sworn to bestow upon them in his covenant with Abraham; that is, with grace of deliverance from their enemies, (and

their own sins were their greatest enemies,) with grace enabling them to serve him *in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.* Of more particulars in this kind, as they shall fall within the compass of prophecies or prefigurations concerning Christ, hereafter.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Scripture is said to be fulfilled according to all the former Senses: that one and the same Scripture may be oftener than once fulfilled according to each several Sense.

THE fulfilling of any thing written supposeth a foretelling, or presignification of the same: and because matters related by the evangelists, and other sacred writers of the New Testament, were of course and of purpose either foretold or prefigured in the Old Testament, hence it is that this phrase of *fulfilling that which was written* is in a manner peculiar to these sacred writers, not in use amongst secular historians. Yet the phrase is not therefore barbarous, because not used by politer writers in the same subject, that is, in historical narrations; for it is used by Tully, and other most elegant writers, in the same sense which sacred writers use it: as because every man (as was intimated before) may foretell those things which were by himself projected or promised, they are likewise said *implere promissa*, to fulfil their own promises, or to fulfil the omen or signification of their own names: so an elegant poet saith, *Maxime, qui tanti mensuram nominis imples.* Now seeing this phrase, *This was done that the scripture might be fulfilled*, is so frequent in the New Testament, Maldonate did very well, and like himself, in unfolding the several ways (as he conceived them) according to which the scripture is said to be fulfilled, almost in the very beginning of his

learned commentaries upon the four evangelists [d]. Yet some question there may be, whether he did all this, which was so well and wisely attempted by him, 607
so well and so judiciously as might in reason have been expected from him.

2. The scripture (saith he) so far (as I could hitherto observe) is said to be fulfilled four manner of ways: first, when that very thing is done or comes to pass which was meant by the prophet, or other sacred writers, in the literal and proper sense; as when St. Matthew (to use his instance) saith, chap. i. 22, that which was spoken by the prophet, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel,* was fulfilled in the blessed Virgin. The rule is true, and without exception,

[d] Dicitur autem prophetia, quantum equidem observare potui, quatuor modis impleri. Primum, quum id ipsum fit, de quo proprie, et literali, ut dicitur, sensu intelligebatur, sicut cap. i. 22. Matthæus dixit impletam in Maria Isaiæ prophetiam fuisse; *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium.* Secundo, cum fit non id de quo proprie intelligebatur prophetia, sed id quod per illud significabatur, ut 2 Sam. vii. 14, *Ego ero illi in patrem, et ille erit mihi in filium,* quod proprie de Solomone dictum esse perspicuum est. Divus tamen Paulus de Christo, cujus Solomon figura erat interpretatur, Hebræ i. 6. quasi in eo impletum esset, et quod Exod. xii. 46. dictum est: *Os non comminuetis ex eo,* certum est intelligi de agno, tamen Joan. cap. xix. 36. in Christo, qui per agnum significabatur, impletum dicit. Tertio, cum nec id sit de quo proprie intelligitur prophetia, nec id quod per illud significatur, sed quod illi simile est, et omnino ejusmodi, ut prophetia non minus apte de eo, quam de quo dicta est, dici potuisse videatur, *Nam populus hic labiis me honorat,* de Judæis qui tempore Isai erant, Deus dixerat, Isa. xxix. 13. Christus autem in eis, qui suo erant tempore, impletum significat, Matt. xv. 7, 8. Simile est exemplum, Matt. xiii. 14. et Act. xxviii. 26. Quarto, cum id ipsum, quod per prophetiam, aut scripturam dictum erat, quamvis jam factum fuerit, tamen magis ac magis fit. Tunc enim scriptura impleri dicitur, id est, quod per eam dictum erat, cumulatissime fieri. Observamus enim in scripturis sæpe fieri, dici, non solum quod fieri incipit, sed quod magis, ac magis fit, sicut Joan. ii. 11. dicuntur discipuli Christi, viso miraculo aquæ, in vinum conversæ, credidisse, quia magis ac magis crediderunt nam jam certe ante crediderunt.—Maldonat. in ver. 15. Matt. ii. fol. 59.

but the illustration of it is not so fit as Maldonate supposed: for that saying of the prophet Isaiah was fulfilled more ways than one, perhaps according to all the four several ways which he conceived, in the conception, birth, and name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Secondly, the scripture is said to be fulfilled, when that comes to pass which was foreshadowed by the proper and immediate subject of the prophet's speech: as that saying, Exod. xii. 46, *Ye shall not break a bone of it*, was properly and immediately meant of the paschal lamb, yet fulfilled in our Saviour Christ, of whom the paschal lamb was the type or shadow. Unto this second rule or branch he likewise refers that prophecy, 2 Sam. vii. 14, *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son*. This was fulfilled in Christ, as the apostle teacheth, Heb. i. 5, though properly meant of Solomon, as Maldonate takes it for granted; although some judicious commentators of the Roman church in his time do question, or rather peremptorily (yet too boldly) deny it. However, this second rule of Maldonate is good, and acknowledged by all; only his expression of the two instances needs some correction: for the first place alleged by him was as literally and as properly meant of Christ as of the paschal lamb; and the second more properly meant of Christ than of Solomon, though literally and properly meant of Solomon, and fulfilled in him. The truth is, that both places were two ways fulfilled, both in the literal and mystical sense, and the second twice fulfilled, once in the literal, and again both in the literal and mystical sense.

3. "Thirdly," (saith the same author,) "the scripture is said to be fulfilled, when neither that which was literally and properly pointed at by the prophet, nor that which was foreshadowed by it, comes to pass, but

some other thing which is so like unto it, that the same speech may as aptly and as handsomely be applied unto it, as unto that which was properly and literally meant." For illustration of this third rule he allegeth that of the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxix. 13, 14: *Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.* This (saith Maldonate) was properly meant of the Jews which lived in Isaiah's time; and yet our Saviour, Matt. xv. 7, 8, gives us to understand that this was fulfilled of the Jews which conversed and disputed with him: *Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me.* Unto this third rule or observation, Maldonate would draw that other saying of the prophet Isaiah, chap. vi. 10: *Make the heart* 608 *of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* Yet this prophecy, as our Saviour expressly tells us, Matth. xiii. 14, was fulfilled in the Jews, to whom he spake, *ore tenus*, in parables: and so doth St. Paul, Acts xxviii. 26, where he expounds the orthodoxal meaning both of our Saviour's and the prophet's words. The truth of this third rule will come in some question in the next chapter; but admitting it for the present to be orthodoxal and true, yet the instances or illustrations are

impertinent. For all the passages alleged by him were more literally and more properly meant of the incredulous Jews which conversed with our Saviour, than of those Jews which were the prophet Isaiah's coevals; as the understanding reader will easily collect from John xii. 41. being compared with the forecited vith of Isaiah.

The fourth way by which (in Maldonate's observation) the scripture is said to be fulfilled, is, when that which was foretold or prefigured, though already done in part, or begun to be done, is afterwards more constantly and more fully done. The observation or rule is unquestionably true, but it is not a rule or branch distinct from the two first, but rather a transcendent to all the ways according to which the scriptures may be rightly said to be fulfilled.

4. And these ways can be neither more nor fewer than are the ways by which God did either foretell or prefigure things to come, and to be accomplished in Christ. Some predictions were merely prophetical, some prefigurations were merely typical, other merely literal or characterical; and unto these and their commixtures all the testimonies or prenotions concerning evangelical mysteries have been reduced. Now according to all these ways the scripture is said to be fulfilled: Where the testimony is merely prophetical, that is, such as is literally appliable to Christ alone, the scripture is said to be fulfilled only in the literal sense. When the testimony or prenotion is only typical, as when the representation is made by matter of fact or historical event, in this case the scripture is fulfilled only according to the mystical sense; and after this manner most of the legal ceremonies are said to be fulfilled in Christ. The history of the brazen serpent was mystically fulfilled in his death upon the cross:

the story of Jonah's imprisonment in the whale's belly was thus fulfilled in his burial and three days' abode in his grave: the ceremony or rite of offering the first-fruits was thus fulfilled in his resurrection. Where the testimony and prenotion is both typical and prophetical, as is that of the paschal lamb, and of *the stone which the builders refused*, there the scripture is fulfilled both according to the literal and the mystical sense, whether the words as they are referred to Christ be logical and proper, or whether they be allegorical or symbolical; yet can we not say that these scriptures were fulfilled as well in the type as in Christ, but in Christ alone: for neither of these passages, *Ye shall not break a bone of it*—*The stone which the builders refused*—were prophetical in respect of the type, but only in respect of the mysteries typified; and no scripture is said to be fulfilled otherwise than as it is either a prediction or prefiguration of somewhat to come. But where the testimony is prophetically typical, there one and the same scripture is twice fulfilled, both in the type and in the antitype, as that, 2 Sam. vii., *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a* 609 *son*, was fulfilled in Solomon in the literal sense, but in Christ both according to the literal and mystical sense. So was that forecited passage, Isaiah xxii., fulfilled in Eliakim according to the literal sense, but afterwards fulfilled in Christ both according to the literally symbolical and the mystical sense. And thus the names given to John Baptist himself, and to his parents, had their accomplishment when Christ was exhibited in our flesh: and yet these, and many other of the same rank, were more exactly fulfilled after his resurrection.

Maldonate's fourth rule (as was before intimated) will hold in all these several ways, according to which the

scripture is said to be fulfilled, whether according to the mere literal and assertive sense, or according to the mere mystical sense, or according to both with their several branches, or according to the characterical sense, or literal representative only not assertive. According to every one of these senses may one and the same scripture be oftener fulfilled than once or twice, and in a manner more remarkable at one time than at another, though always truly fulfilled, and according to the intention of the Holy Ghost.

5. To begin with the literal assertive. No man, I think, will question whether that of the prophet Isaiah, *With the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked,* were literally meant of any besides our Saviour Christ. And there is no question but these words were fulfilled within the compass of that age which brought him forth, and so then fulfilled in sundry wicked ones: yet do not these words refer to them, or those times alone, but are to be fulfilled in a more remarkable manner at the day of judgment, or perhaps before it: for from this place of the prophet Isaiah our apostle had that revelation, 2 Thess. ii. 8; *Then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.* Many like prophecies there be concerning the glory of Christ's church and the happy estate of his elect, which are even in this life literally fulfilled or verified by way of pledge or earnest, but shall not be exactly fulfilled, save only in the life to come. Ignorance of this rule, or non-observance of it, hath been the nurse of dangerous and superstitious error, as well in the Roman church as in her extreme opposites; in such, I mean, as begin their faith and anchor their hopes at the absolute infallibility of their personal election, with no less zeal

or passion than the Romanist relies upon the absolute infallibility of the visible church.

6. That very instance which Maldonate allegeth for the confirmation of his third rule, *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips*, &c. Matt. xv. 8, was literally meant of the Jews which lived in Isaiah's time, yet not properly fulfilled in them or of them; for in respect of them it was not a prophecy, but a sharp reproof or tax: yet this reproof or tax was a most exact prophecy in respect of the Jews which conversed with our Saviour, of whom it was literally meant in a more exquisite sense than of their ancestors, and in this sense often fulfilled. The ancient Jews did not honour God, being personally and visibly present, with their lips, as these later did, nor were their hearts so maliciously set, at least their malice not so diametrally bent against God at any time, as the hearts and malice of these later Jews were against Christ, who was the God of their fathers. As these later Jews did fill up the measure of their fathers' sins, so whatsoever God 610
did threaten to this stiffnecked people, for their rebellion against him, was more exactly fulfilled in this last generation than it had been in any former. The several generations or successions created no difference in the true object of the literal sense: that may and did as equally respect many generations as one man, infinite transgressions as truly as some few. This scripture may be as truly fulfilled in all as in one, though not in all according to the same measure: so St. Stephen tells the Jews, Acts vii. 51, 52: *Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which*

shewed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers. And our Saviour himself chargeth the present generation of the Jews with the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom their forefathers had slain many hundreds of years before, Matt. xxiii. 35, adding withal, that his blood should be required of that generation present. Which is a proof sufficient that this Zacharias was not the father (as some have supposed) of John the Baptist: for if he had been slain between the temple and the altar, he must have been slain by that present generation to whom our Saviour directs this speech, and so there had been no matter of observation capable of that emphatical epiphonema, Luke xi. 51, *Verily I say unto you, It shall be required of this generation.* Now his blood was to be required of this last generation because they had fulfilled the measure of their forefathers' sins, who had prodigiously slain their high priest Zacharias: but how the prophecy of this their high priest, or rather his dying curse, was fulfilled more exactly of this last generation than of that generation which put him to death, would require a particular treatise, not in this place to be inserted. His dying speech (though uttered by way of imprecation) was prophetical; and the event of his imprecation, though exhibited shortly after his death, was typically prophetical of that which happened to this last generation within forty years after the death of our Saviour, whom Zacharias did in his death (though not in his dying speeches) exactly foreshadow.

7. As one and the same scripture may be oftener than once fulfilled or exactly verified in different measure only by way of growth or increment of the same literal sense; so likewise may it be of one and the

same man in respect of several times: for out of question it is that the scripture, Gen. xv. 6, *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness*, was literally verified of Abraham at that very point of time, when God first called him from his own kindred and his father's house into the promised land: and yet St. James saith, chap. ii. 23, that this very scripture was fulfilled when Abraham offered up Isaac his son upon the altar; and from this last performance of Abraham he had, if not the first, yet the truest title to be called *the friend of God.* Not altogether after the same manner, but after a manner not much different, was that scripture, Isaiah liii. 4, twice fulfilled of our Saviour before his resurrection: *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows*, &c. This was most exactly fulfilled in his sufferings (whatsoever these were) upon the cross, unto which St. Peter refers it, 1 Pet. ii. 24: *He his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.* Yet was the same testimony truly fulfilled before, as St. Matthew 611
more fully instructs us, chap. viii. 16, 17: *When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.* The testimony alleged by these two apostles unto several purposes is one and the same, and yet concludent of what they both purposed or intended. Nor is it necessary to search out two several senses of one and the same testimony alleged and twice fulfilled; for of one and the same literal sense or signification there may be two objects or

more. The literal sense of the words, as forecited by St. Peter, hath for its object our Saviour's sufferings, or his bearing our infirmities and the diseases of our souls upon the cross. The object whereto St. Matthew refers was the infirmities or sicknesses of men's bodies; for these he bare, though not (as we say) in kind, yet by exact sympathy or fellow-feeling, before he bare our spiritual infirmities upon the cross; and whether he bare these after such an exact sympathy as he did the bodily infirmities of those whom he cured may be discussed in the article of his Passion.

8. But as for testimonies either typically prophetical or prophetically typical, besides that they may be oftener fulfilled than once according to the same sense in general, (as either according to the literal or mystical sense, or both,) they admit a greater variety of particular senses no way opposite unto the general, but subordinate and coordinate one to another. Sometimes the same words fit the type in such a proportion as the names of shires or provinces do those parts of the maps wherein they are represented, but fit the antitype in such a measure as the same name in the map doth the province which it represents: sometimes in one and the same prophecy or continued historical narration, one clause or passage doth fit the type only, another the antitype only, according to the proper literal sense, and some others so fit both. As in Psalm lxxii. 1: *Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son:* by *the king* it is evident David meant himself, and by *the king's son*, both Solomon and him of whom Solomon was the shadow or type; the one according to the literal sense only, the other both according to literal and mystical. These words again, in verse 2, *He shall judge the people with righteousness, and the poor with equity,*

refer both to Solomon and to Christ; to the one as to the model, to the other as to the edifice. So doth that other passage, verse 8: *He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.* This prophecy was fulfilled or exactly verified according to the letter in Solomon: for he did command from the Phœnician sea unto the sea of Edom, and from the river Euphrates unto the land's end, according to that ancient *terrar* which the Lord himself had given of Judah's dominion. Yet this dominion, whilst it was most entirely possessed by Solomon, was but a map of Christ's kingdom; he was to rule from sea to sea, over all the seas in the world, and from river to river, from every point of sea and land unto the same point again; for all was to be given him, as well in earth as in heaven. Solomon's earthly kingdom doth fit Christ's kingdom here on earth as a map of paper doth a country or province; and Christ's kingdom here on earth is but the scale of his kingdom and dominion in heaven.

9. Sometimes the same passage of scripture may, 612
according to the intent and meaning of the Holy Spirit, be fulfilled or verified of the type or pledge in an ordinary literal or proverbial sense, (which is somewhat more than the ordinary literal,) and yet be fulfilled of Christ in the most exactly punctual literal sense that can be imagined. *They that dwell in the wilderness,* saith David, Psalm lxxii. 9, *shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust.* This was truly meant and verified of Solomon in the literal and proverbial sense, but most exactly fulfilled in Christ, unto whom *all knees shall bow of things in heaven, of things in earth, and of things under the earth;* and all his enemies, death itself, and him that had the power of death, shall inherit the serpent's first curse,

that is, to be fed with dust, Gen. iii. 14. No doubt but Solomon had his share in that prediction, ver. 12: *He shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper;* him that is not able to cry or speak for himself: but Solomon could never give sight unto the blind, or limbs unto the lame, or speech or hearing to such as were born deaf or dumb: these were prerogatives peculiar unto that Son of David whom Solomon did foreshadow. But even the deaf and dumb had some friends to solicit Christ's aid for them; the lame, the blind, and the sick, could cry themselves unto him, or make signs of their desire of his help; yet others he helped which did not, either by themselves or by their friends, desire his help, as that impotent man which had laid so long at the pool of Bethesda. Solomon might deliver the poor from civil oppression or bodily violence, and might raise them in their temporal fortunes; but it was the promised Son of David alone that could deliver them from the oppressions of the devil, or from the imprisonment of their own bodily senses. Thus he delivered Lazarus from the very bonds of death, and from the prison of the grave, when he himself could not, and his sisters would not or did not cry unto him for this deliverance, but rather dissuaded him from attempting it. Now the very name *Lazarus* is by interpretation as much as David in that verse expresseth—*him that hath no helper*. According to this difference or allowance, most passages in that lxxiind Psalm, besides the 5th verse, and the conclusion from the 17th, are literally meant both of Solomon and of Christ. But these prayers of David were prophetical both in respect of the type and the antitype; so are not many other like passages in the Psalms, which contain pathetical expressions of the parties' desires,

griefs, or sorrows, which did pen them, and yet are no less exquisitely fulfilled in Christ than the former, which were literally meant both of Christ and of the psalmist, though prophetical only in respect of Christ. Every religious man, which had a religious woman to his mother, might frame his prayers in the same literal form that the psalmist useth, Psalm cxvi. 16: *O Lord, surely I am thy servant; I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid.* Yet inasmuch as this psalmist (whoever he were) was a type of Christ, that which he spake and meant of himself in an ordinary and common sense was fulfilled of Christ in the most exquisite sense whereof these words or letters are capable: for he was the Son of a handmaid, of God's handmaid, κατ' ἐξοχήν, in such a peculiar manner as no son of man before him was, nor after shall be: and he was the servant of God in such a sense and after such a manner as no man could be, no man would desire to be, save only that Man who was the eternal and only Son of God. But of this title of the Son of God's being *the servant of God* in his proper place.

10. The psalmist again did questionless both act 613
and pen his own part when he thus exclaimed, *Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me,* Psalm xli. 9. This was but an expression of some intolerable ingratitude and wrong, either past or then in working; the speech was neither altogether figurative nor hyperbolical, but a typical prophecy of Judas's traitorous dealing with his Lord and Master; and in Judas alone it was properly fulfilled, according to the most exquisite and most punctual literal sense that could have been devised: for Judas being in an office of trust, did then lay wait for his Master's life, and did then fully resolve upon his intended treason, when he

was in the mess, and dipped his finger in the same dish with him: the father of lies, of treason, and ingratitude, did enter into his heart at the same instant wherein he devoured the bread his Master had reached unto him. By the speedy and more disastrous issue of this prodigious treason, preventing the traitor from triumphing in his Master's death as his bloody confederates did, this people might have known that Christ was the Man whom God did favour, whom the psalmist did foreshadow in his complaint, and of whose resurrection he prophesied in his prayer, vv. 10—12: *But thou, O Lord, be merciful unto me, and raise me up, that I may requite them. By this I know that thou favourest me, because my enemy doth not triumph over me. And as for me, thou upholdest me in mine integrity, and settest me before thy face for ever.* All that the psalmist here pens was more exquisitely acted by our Saviour, if we subduct the imprecations upon his enemies, which the psalmist mingles with his prayers for himself.

11. The author of Psalm lxix. (were he David the son of Jesse, or some other so enstyled, for the same reason for which John Baptist is by our Saviour himself called Elias) did not utter that complaint without some urgent cause or pressing occasions, vv. 20, 21: *Reproach hath broken my heart; and I am full of heaviness: and I looked for some to take pity, but there was none; and I looked for comforters, but I found none. They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* These passionate expressions could hardly proceed from such sympathy as a pure prophetical vision of what the malignant Jews would do for many generations after unto Christ was likely to raise: they seem live characters of experienced grief and

sorrow; and it may be the psalmist was then a prisoner, fed with the bread of affliction, and compelled to drink water as bitter as his bread was nasty. But whatsoever the psalmist here speaks of himself and of his miserable perplexities, though in a high and tragical strain, or in a sense somewhat hyperbolical, was, we know, fulfilled in Christ according to the literal and punctual sense. Briefly, all the psalmists and other prophets, in all their causeless and undeserved sufferings at the hands of worthless and malicious men, were true types, and yet no more than types or shadows of Christ, in his agony and bloody passion. But in their importunate and bitter imprecations uttered in their guiltless sufferings, they were not so much types as foils of his unspeakable patience, meekness, and longsuffering; for he never prayed against his enemies (as the prophets did) but always for them: their demeanour in their calamities, disgrace, or torments, was such as did shew themselves to be but men; his, always such as did declare him to be, what he often said of himself, truly God. And yet 614
the bitter imprecations which the psalmist and other prophets used in their indign sufferings, or against the malicious enemies of his church and people, did (by divine inspiration) prove most exact typical prophecies of all the calamities which befell the Jewish nation after they had declared themselves to be the enemies of the God of their fathers, and put the Lord of life, their promised Messias, to death. As in particular, and for instance, that imprecation of this psalmist, ver. 23. unto ver. 28, with that other prophecy, Isaiah xxix., St. Paul did see in part fulfilled in the Jews of his time, Rom. xi. 8—10: *According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they*

should not hear; unto this day. And David saith, Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumblingblock, and a recompense unto them: let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and bow down their back alway. This imprecation made by the psalmist (but never resumed by our Saviour) did fall upon them by the law of retaliation. Therefore their table became a snare unto them, because they gave the Son of God gall for meat, and vinegar in his thirst to drink. But in what sense his death, or the indignities which they put upon him, was the cause of Jerusalem's destruction and extirpation of the Jewish nation, is more fully set down in other meditations, somewhat of which may (if need so require) be inserted in proof of the undoubted truth of the articles of his Resurrection and Ascension, against the Jews.

CHAP. XV.

Whether all Testimonies alleged by the Evangelists out of the Old Testament, in which it is said or implied, This was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled, *be concludent Proofs of the evangelical Truths for which they are alleged.*

IT would require a great deal of diligence in later divines to redeem the negligence of former, either in not observing or in not transmitting their observations to posterity, at what time, on what occasions, and by whom the several Psalms were written: for that all of them were written at the same time, or by the same hand, is no way probable in itself, nor so accounted amongst the best divines of this age. Theodoret amongst the ancients, Melancthon and Moller amongst modern writers, have better attempted this profitable work than they have been seconded. The

historical occasions, and other circumstances of the times wherein these Psalms were written, were they known according to the literal sense, would lead us by a fair and safe way, as it were by the rule of three, unto the just product or capacity of the true allegorical and mystical sense in which they were fulfilled. But as our case now stands, the luxuriant and perplexed branches of such forced allegories as men fancy to themselves, or frame by guess, without any perfect scale or proportion from the true historical sense, have occasioned many judicious divines to doubt or question, whether those things which by the evangelists are said to be done that the *scriptures might be fulfilled* do always imply some concludent proof or 615
demonstration of the Spirit. Calvin, for being sometimes too bold, sometimes too sparing in the exposition of such places as the evangelists say are fulfilled in Christ, is deeply taxed by the Lutherans generally, and by many of the Romish church. But Christian charity will persuade men of sober passions, that it was rather fear lest he should give offence unto the Jews, than any desire or inclination to comply with them, which made him sometimes give the same interpretations of scriptures which they do, without expression of or search after further mysteries than the letter itself doth minister. However it be, if Calvin be liable to a judgment, Jansenius, Sasbout, and Maldonate, three of the most judicious commentators of the Romish church for these many years, are liable to a council for their unadvised presumption in this kind. One of them denieth that often forecited place, *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son,* to be literally meant of Solomon: wherein he gives just offence unto the Jews, and by superstitious fear of committing that error whereof Calvin is often accused,

doth fall into the contrary. The two others question whether that of the prophet Hosea, *Out of Egypt have I called my son*, were properly fulfilled in our Saviour, or only said to be fulfilled, *per accommodationem*, by way of allusion, that is, in such a manner as we might say that of the poet,

Omnis in Aschanio chari stat cura parentis,

were fulfilled in any father or mother, whom we saw to dote upon or much to delight in their lovely son. And this was the explicit meaning of Maldonate's third rule before cited, in what sense the scripture is said to be fulfilled.

2. That this was his meaning in that place may be gathered from his comment on that other saying of St. Matthew, chap. xiii. 34, 35: *All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable spake he not unto them: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret since the foundation of the world.* His observations upon this place are in his own words (Englished) thus: "The particle *that* doth not denote the cause why our Saviour spake in parable; for he did not thus speak, to the end that David's sayings might be fulfilled, but because his auditors were unworthy of such perspicuous declarations as he used to his disciples in private." This he takes as granted from our Saviour's speech, vv. 13, 14: *Therefore spake I to them in parables: because they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing* &c. The abstract of his observations upon vv. 34, 35. is this; that it was no part of our

evangelist's meaning to teach us that David's prophecy was properly fulfilled by our Saviour's parables; seeing David's discourse (as he conceives) was indeed no prophecy, but an historical narration of matters past; besides, that the word which the psalmist there useth doth not signify such parables as our Saviour in this thirteenth chapter meant, but rather such pithy sentences as the Greeks call apophthegms. Maldonate's conclusion therefore is, that the evangelist (according to his usual manner) did only accommodate that which David had spoken to our Saviour's speeches in this place, to which they have some affinity or simi-616 litude, though no concludent congruity: and for our better satisfaction he refers us to his comments upon Matt. ii. 15, that is, indeed, to his third rule, in what sense the scriptures are said to be fulfilled. But in this and other like passages to the same purpose, this author only gives us to understand, how easy a matter it is for good divines sometimes to spend a great deal of learning and wit to no good purpose; especially when they strive to be hypercritical, or to be censorious of others' pious endeavours, though perhaps not so accurate.

3. To revise these his animadversions *ordine retrogrado*, that is, beginning with the last, and ending with the first:

No man did say that the narrations in that Psalm were prophetical in respect of the matters literally and immediately signified by the words themselves; yet inasmuch as these matters though past—as God's wonders in Egypt and in the wilderness—the conducting of his people to the land of Canaan, and their rebellious behaviour in it—were true types or shadows of the like events in future times; there is not any thing in that Psalm related, which in the mystical sense doth not

forerepresent some parallel event, when the God of their fathers should come in person to expostulate with his people in such a manner as David did with the people of his time, which he did not in his own name or authority, but in the name and authority of his Lord and God: for so he begins that Psalm; *Give ear, O my people, to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old.* This preamble cannot literally be applied to David, or any prophet, save only as he was a type or shadow of him that was to come. The psalmist's words immediately following, though apophthegmatical and pithy, were plain in respect of the literal sense, (if you consider them only as matters of fact forepast,) were known and had been taught, at the least by some of their fathers, though perhaps forgotten by posterity. However, in respect of their mystical importance, or as they contain a proportionable parallel of the kingdom of heaven with the kingdom of Israel according to the flesh, they are sentences both hard and dark, and such as did require a better paraphrast upon David or the author of this Psalm, than he was of Moses or of the sacred historians before his time. For by the parables meant in ver. 2. of this Psalm, if we may believe St. Matthew's paraphrase upon these words, were meant *things which had been kept secret from the foundation of the world*, Matt. xiii. 35. This was the mystical sense of the psalmist's words, and according to St. Matthew's literal expression of them they necessarily import the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; and so all the parables which our Saviour used in that chapter (as he there useth many) respect the kingdom of heaven, and were hard and dark to such as were not of Christ's disciples, or such as the

psalmist there describes—*a stubborn and faithless generation.* It is true therefore which Maldonate in his second animadversion saith, that the cause why our Saviour spake to his common auditors in parables was, because they were unworthy of clearer revelations, uncapable for the time of greater talents, having used their former ordinary talents so ill. Thus our Saviour resolves his disciples, ver. 11, 12: *Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him* 617 *shall be taken away even that he hath.* And to the same effect the psalmist had prophesied, or forewarned this generation, even all generations following. It was then an allegation unconcludent and impertinent, and no way beseeming Maldonate, to say our Saviour did not speak in parables to the end that David's sayings might be fulfilled, but because this present generation did deserve no other language. For these two are no way opposite, but subordinate: and if it be ill for men to separate those things which God hath conjoined, it is much worse to set things at odds, or in opposition, which the Spirit of God hath made coordinate, or set in concord.

Now both these assertions, as well that which Maldonate refuses as that which he approves, have a divine truth in them. First, it is most true that our Saviour did speak unto the multitude, and to the Pharisees on whom they relied, in parables, because they were for the time unworthy of such declarations as he made to his disciples for the increase of their talent, which they had used not so much amiss as the others had done. And no less true it is, that the psalmist did foreprophesy, that the posterity of Israel from his own

time until the coming of the Messias should be more unworthy hearers of divine mysteries than their forefathers had been, unless they seriously repented both their own sins and the sins of their forefathers. So that our Saviour did speak unto them in parables for these two reasons: first, because they were unworthy hearers; secondly, to the end his disciples might know and believe, that this manner of speaking was foreprophesied by the author of the seventy-eighth psalm.

4. Maldonate's first animadversion was, that this Latin particle *ut*, or the Greek ἵνα, doth not always signify the cause of what is said or spoken, but sometimes the event only. How true soever this be, it no way prejudiceth the truth now delivered by us: for it will not follow that this particle *ut*, either in this place of St. Matthew, or in any other place whereit imports the fulfilling of scriptures, doth not signify the cause, because it sometimes or oftentimes signifieth the event only. But seeing the right use of this particle, or the knowledge of its several references, is much conducent to the just valuation of many testimonies which have been and must be hereafter alleged out of scriptures, it will be very useful in this place to unfold its several significations or importances once for all.

Sometimes this particle, as well in the Greek as in the Latin and in our English, is transitive only, and imports neither any true cause nor the event; as in that of our Saviour, John xvii. 3: *This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God.* The resolution of which words, without any wrong either to their full importance in logical construction, or to their grammatical elegancy, is but this; *Cognoscere te esse verum Deum est vita æterna:* "To know thee to be the only true God is eternal life." From this use or importance of this particle *ut*, that other, which

Maldonate makes, is not different, or no otherwise different than the end of a transition or passage is from the passage or transition itself; as when our Saviour saith, Matt. xxiii. 34, *I send unto you prophets, and wise men,* &c., *that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel* &c.; God forbid any good Christian should refer this particle *that* unto the first words, *Behold, I send unto you prophets,* &c., and by this means conceive the end and cause why God did send wise men and prophets unto them should be this, that 618
all the righteous blood shed by their fathers should be required of this generation; it refers only to those words, *Some of them shall ye kill and crucify,* &c. The true importance is as if he had said, 'Ye shall, or you will go on in your fathers' sins so far and so long, until at length the blood of all the righteous whom your fathers have slain shall come upon you;' or, as St. Luke hath it, *shall be required of you.* So that the importance of this particle *ut,* in this place, denotes the event of their practices or resolutions, not the final cause of the prophets' coming unto them. And it is the same with that which St. Paul expresses in the infinitive mood, Rom. i. 20: *For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse:* εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους. The end why God did manifest himself unto men in the book of his creatures, was, that they might know him to be the God, and glorify him as God. And it was the ample measure of manifestations made to this end, which left even the heathens themselves without apology or just excuse; and according to this importance of the particle *ut,* (as it noteth only the

event, or some transition to the event,) many good writers would value that of St. John, chap. xii. 37, 38: *Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake,* ut impleretur ille sermo, *Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?* And I could wish that Maldonate's animadversions upon the forecited 35th verse of Matthew xiii. had been as orthodoxal or discreet as they are upon this place of John. For of such commentators as I have read, none speaks more pertinently or more discreetly to the difficulty wherewith that place is charged, unless it be his brother Tolet, who hammers out Athanasius's exposition as learnedly (and more fully) as Maldonate doth the expositions of other Greek fathers. However, I cannot assent to them, or to any others, in this one point, in that they would make the particle *ut* here (as elsewhere it doth) to point only at the event, not any cause. That it cannot in this place denote the final cause, Athanasius carries it clearly against some heretics of his time, or before him, who did so interpret it; who yet spake consequently enough to their wicked opinions, in that they acquit these unbelieving Jews from blame, and lay their charge upon Isaiah, whose prediction, they thought, did either cause or infer the necessity of these Jews' infidelity, after so many glorious miracles as had been done by our Saviour in their sight.

5. But that this particle *ut* doth in this place denote and import more than the event, that it refers unto some true cause, is most evident, in that the use of it, ver. 38, is, in St. John's meaning, equivalent to that other particle used by him, ver. 39, διὰ τοῦτο; *Therefore they could not believe, because Esaias*

said again, &c. Now that this particle διὰ, *therefore*, *ideo*, *quia*, and such like, do always refer immediately unto some true cause, we cannot deny without some wrong to Priscian, or without some *non obstante*, or such licentious dispensation (as it is said a pope once gave) *ut fiatur contra omnes grammaticos*. It is certain again, that neither particle doth immediately refer to any real cause of the thing itself avouched by St. John, or that Isaiah's saying, or the fulfilling of it, should be any cause at all of the Jews' infidelity, nei- 619
ther the principal cause, (as the heretics whom Athanasius refutes did conceive,) nor any accessory or less principal cause, as some modern writers imagine, whom Maldonate (without naming them) well confutes. But we should consider how that which is the true effect of some real cause is ofttimes the true cause of our true knowledge or apprehension of the cause itself, or of its connection with the effect: and such a causality these and the like causal particles or conjunctions, *ideo*, *quia*, *propter*, &c., do usually import: as if one which had never seen the king or court before, should say, 'Sure this is the king, because the rest stand bare before him;' this speech imports a true cause, not of the thing itself avouched, or why this is the king, but of the party's knowledge or notice of him as king. And so we know that Mary Magdalene had many sins forgiven her *because she loved much*; but her love was the effect, not the cause of this plentiful forgiveness, as the more intelligent sort of pontifician writers now grant, and the circumstance of the text will clearly evince it, against all that shall avouch it to be any more than a cause of our knowledge. However, seeing every cause is a cause of some effect, or refers to some things produced or occasioned by it, the question still remains, of what effect the fulfilling of Isaiah's

prophecy, or the contemplation of the event which he foretold, should be the true cause, if it were no cause at all of these Jews' infidelity?

6. The serious contemplation of this prophet's saying after the Holy Ghost had called them, and the matter which they so have fitted unto our evangelist's mind, was a true cause why he did cease to wonder at the stupidity of this people. For if Isaiah had not long before deciphered their froward and stubborn disposition, posterity would have suspected either that St. John's taxation of their stupidity had been more hyperbolical than true, or else that our Saviour's miracles had not been so all-sufficient in themselves as the evangelist makes them, for winning credence to his doctrine, or respect unto his person. But seeing nothing breaks forth in this last generation, whose seeds and roots had not been discovered by Isaiah in their forefathers, this takes away all occasion in posterity to suspect either the truth of St. John's narration or sufficiency of our Saviour's miracles. Not these causal particles only, as *ut* or *propter*, but adversative also, as *veruntamen*, *sed*, do sometimes refer, not to any written clause or sentence precedent, or any matter contained in them, but unto the secret or tacit thoughts of the writer or speaker, or to some strong affection seeking to vent itself in such abrupt or unusual language. To begin a speech with *nam* or *veruntamen* would be a ridiculous solecism, unless it were by way of decorum in some appointed to act or utter a ridiculous part; and yet an exquisite poet did thus begin his doleful elegy:

Hieronymus Vida in carmine, cui titulus Gelelmi Vid. et Leonæ Oscasalæ parentum manibus.

> Hic tamen umbrosum nactus nemus, hic loca sola
> Ne mea quis carpsit nimium lamenta severus.

The particle *tamen*, without solecism or breach of grammar rule, hath an elegant reference to his former

thoughts or affections, which had been these or the like; 'It is an unseemly part for a man of my place and breeding to blubber and weep for the death of his parents; *notwithstanding*, seeing the place affords opportunity, nature shall take her forth for a while.' And after this manner the psalmist begins the seventy-third psalm, *Veruntamen bonus est Deus Israel, Not-* 620
withstanding God is good to Israel: this particle refers to his precedent thoughts, or secret disputations with his own heart, which had been these or the like; 'Surely God hath forgotten his promise unto Israel, or else he never meant them so much good as he seemed to promise, in that he suffers them to be trod under feet by their wicked and blasphemous enemies;' and in the crisis or conquest of these and the like cogitations (which he afterwards confesseth of himself) he burst out into the former expression, *Notwithstanding God is good to Israel.* And after this manner these two causal speeches, *Ut impleretur ille sermo Isaiæ*, John xii. *Propterea non potuerunt credere*, &c., refer to these or the like precedent cogitations of St. John; 'Is it possible that men of Abraham's lineage, that any creatures endued with reason, should not believe, after so many miracles done in their sight?' 'Yes, I know it to be more than possible, because the prophet Isaiah hath foretold as much.' Yea, but St. John goes further, and says *they could not believe*, because Isaiah had foretold their unbelief. Yet if we scan his words aright, St. John doth not resolve the impossibility or difficulty of their unbelief into Isaiah's prediction formally taken, but into the hardness of heart which Isaiah had foretold: for so his words are; *Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened*

their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them. These things spake Esaias, when he saw his glory. The most that can be made of these words, the strongest collections that can be inferred from them for inferring any divine causality of their unbelief, will amount to no more than this; 'It is not possible that the greatest part of men in our times should understand many divine truths about which they dispute, or be *wise unto salvation*; because it is said by a good author, *Wisdom cannot enter into a froward heart.*' This speech is canonically true of all such men *sensu composito*, that is, whilst they continue perverse and froward, but not true *in sensu diviso*; for though it were absolutely true, that it is impossible for wisdom to enter into a froward heart, yet it is possible for a froward heart to put off frowardness, and for such as are now a stiffnecked and stubborn people in good time to brook the yoke of Christian obedience.

7. But doth this period of St. John, *After so many miracles done before them they did not believe, that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled,* import no more than if a man should say, 'The factious spirits of our times cannot believe aright, because it is written that *wisdom cannot enter into a froward heart?*' In Maldonate's exposition on this place of St. John, and of that other, Matt. xiii. 34, &c., this is the utmost value of both allegations—'That the prophet's words do so well fit the events related by these two evangelists, as that they could not fit them better, although it were granted that it were meant of them alone, or had been spoken to no other end than to notify these two events.' Yet if we may have the liberty to express the prophet's

meaning, or to speak consequently unto the truth itself, (acknowledged by all good Christians,) or to some special truths formerly delivered, the prophecy of Isaiah, alleged by St. John, was in a more peculiar manner fulfilled in the strange infidelity of the Jews which saw our Saviour's miracles, than any proverbs of Solomon or other general maxims can be fulfilled or verified of any misbelievers in these our times, either of such as deny Christ in express words, or confessing him in words deny him in deeds. For the 621
words of Solomon, or other moral sayings of canonical writers, how well soever they may fit the errors or infidelity of our times, had no punctual aspect to them, but were uttered as absolute truths, without respect of age, time, or persons, and fit all men and every sort of men, of what condition, age, or nation soever they be: whereas the former forecited prophecy of Isaiah was punctually or literally meant of the Jewish nation, which lived after his time unto the destruction of the city and temple, and to the return of the Babylonish captivity. For so it follows in the sixth chap. vv. 10—13: *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land. But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten: as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof.* This very prophecy was more exactly fulfilled in the excecation

and obduration of the Jews which did not believe our Saviour's miracles, and in that desolation of Judæa which ensued upon his death. But whether the last part of this prophecy, concerning their return again to God, shall be as exactly fulfilled in these outcasts of Israel, future times would better resolve us, or such as shall live after us, than any living interpreter of scriptures can. With this question St. John meddles not; but besides that the former part of that prophecy doth according to the literal sense as truly point at this later generation of the Jews as at the former; the real event itself, or matter of fact foretold, was more conspicuously remarkable in this later generation, than it had been in the former; for it was a prediction prophetically typical. The first desolation was such a real type of the later, as Israel's casting off God from being their ruler in the time of Samuel was of that solemn abrenunciation of Christ which these later Jews made before Pilate, when they cried, *We have no king but Cæsar!* Or the like desolation was such a crisis of that deadly disease whereof the excecation and obduration mentioned by St. John was the symptom, as that calamity which befell Judah the next year after Zechariah's death was of the calamity which befell the whole nation within forty years after our Saviour's death.

8. So then the particle *ut*, neither in this place of St. John, nor in any other, doth ever import any true causality of excecation or obduration on God's part or his prophets'; but in this place of St. John, and in every other, where it is said, *that this or that was done, that the scripture might be fulfilled*, the same particle doth always import, that whatsoever was so done, whether positively or directly by God himself, or with permission of his just providence, by the positive

intentions of Satan or incorrigible stubbornness of men, was always ordered by God to this end and purpose, that posterity might believe and know no such event did follow by chance, or that the prophet did foretell such events only in general, without special reference unto the particular events related by the evangelist. Seeing every final cause is purposed or projected by some intelligent nature, one and the same particle, *that*, or the like, with reference to several projectures, may sometimes denote a true final cause, 622
sometimes the event or consequent only, in one and the same proposition; as in that of our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 34, *Some of them ye shall kill and crucify*, &c.—*that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth.* The final cause projected by Satan was to bring righteous blood upon these Jews; but this was the event or consequent only, no final cause of their projects against God's messengers; but these messengers were sent by God only to this end, that they might recall his people to their allegiance: yet this end or purpose did include this condition, that if they continued or made up the measure of their fathers' stubbornness, they were to suffer more grievous punishment than if they had not been forewarned by the prophets. In like manner the excecation and obduration of these later Jews was the mark at which Satan aimed, no true cause (though a necessary consequent) of their continued abuse of that talent which God had given them; but no final cause, no cause at all why our Saviour did so many miracles amongst them: their excecation and perdition was from themselves.

9. That prophecy of Isaiah, and that other of our Saviour's, Matt. xxiii. 35, *that upon you may come all the righteous blood*, (or as St. Luke hath the same

prediction more emphatically, *Verily I say unto you, It shall be required of this generation*;) both these and the like were conformable to that general rule delivered by Jeremiah, chap. xviii. 7, 8: *At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.* And our Saviour's prediction, Luke xi. 31, though the words may seem most peremptory, did implicitly contain or admit the same condition which he in another prediction of his to the same effect doth express, Luke xiii. 3: *I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish*; that is, perish after the same disastrous manner that the Galilæans there mentioned, or the inhabitants of Jerusalem, had perished. Now, however the prediction of Isaiah or Zechariah's imprecation when he died were no true causes of this people's infidelity or destruction, yet, inasmuch as what they threatened, though with this condition and proviso, *unless they do repent*, did so exactly come to pass, the event is of most concludent proof to us that they spake by the Spirit of God; a true cause of our knowledge that they were prophets indeed, and that these events were not casual in respect of their predictions, though in themselves contingent, or holding the true mean between necessity of being and necessity of not being.

10. But the best way to convince them of error who teach that prophecies are sometimes said to be fulfilled only by allusion, will be to declare the particular manner how these places at which they stumble most do conclude what the evangelists rather intimate than fully express. For so it was the will of God, that even the evangelists themselves should ofttimes

only give us hints for searching out those demonstrations of the Spirit, which they perfectly knew, but would not set down at large, lest this should occasion slothful negligence in succeeding ages, or prevent our admiration at the exact consonancy between prophetical predictions and evangelical narrations.

To conclude this present treatise: it is always more safe for the most learned expositor of scriptures to say, 'I do not conceive how this or that allegation doth con- 623
clude, or how this or that prophecy was exactly fulfilled,' than peremptorily to avouch of any particular alleged by the evangelist, that it was no concludent proof, but allusive only, because he, or such as he hath read, cannot conceive how it is fulfilled. It is hard for any one man to see or hear all that hath been said or written by others upon any parts of scripture; but it may be easy for others that come after to say somewhat in arguments of this nature which no one before had said or observed; yea, somewhat more than the prophet himself did distinctly foresee, when he spake or wrote these very words which the evangelists say were fulfilled.

CHAP. XVI.

Whether the Prophets did always foresee or explicitly believe whatsoever they did foretell or foresignify concerning Christ.

SOME have resolved upon the affirmative part of this problem, not only as true in itself, but as one special ground of difference between the prophets of the Lord and the heathen soothsayers or diviners, which sometimes foretold that which afterwards proved true, but without any apprehension of the truth of it. That heathen diviners did sometimes rave or speak they knew not what in their divinations, I will not deny; that they did always thus, is more than I can

affirm. However, between raving predictions and a distinct apprehension or foresight of matters foretold, there is a greater difference than between staring and being stark mad. That the prophets of the Lord did never rave in their predictions, that they had always a true apprehension of the truth delivered by them, and a foresight of the events future which they foretold, I rest assured. But that this foresight should extend to all the branches of truth which are said to come to pass that their sayings might be fulfilled, I see no convincent argument to persuade me. The contradictory to this assertion (if any be pleased to undertake it) we thus infer: The evangelists and apostles, or others enabled to preach the gospel with power from above, men visibly anointed with the Holy Ghost to this function, were bound to teach no other things than what had been foretold by Moses and the prophets. And yet the evangelists both knew and taught others to believe many things which the prophets[a], even the kingly prophets[b], much desired, but could not be admitted to see or hear. And this is a concludent proof that the prophets did not always distinctly foresee or apprehend all things which were foretold by them, not those events which the Spirit of God saith came to pass that their sayings might be fulfilled. Otherwise they must have seen all that the evangelists saw, have known all the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven which the apostles after our Saviour's resurrection knew or taught: but this is
624 directly contradictory to our Saviour's assertion; and

[a] Matt. xiii. 17. *For verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.*

[b] See Luke x. 24. *For many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them,* &c.

whatsoever is contradictory to truth itself, must of necessity be untrue. Wherein then did the prophets of the Lord differ from heathen soothsayers or raving diviners?

2. He that can make a good construction of what he speaks or writes, cannot be said to rave, albeit he know not the issue or full importance of things uttered by him. Caiaphas did not rave when he said, *It was expedient that one man should die for the people, rather than all should perish*: yet was he no prophet, although (as St. John tells us) he did in this speech prophesy: for he did not intend or take upon him to foretell any unusual matter or divine mystery, but only give his political advice or *placet* concerning the business then in hand: any worldly wise man might have spoken as wisely as he did. That his speeches then did prove so happily ominous as they did, this was merely from the extraordinary disposition of Divine Providence. He neither spake as heathen diviners did when they raved, nor as the prophets of the Lord used to speak whensoever they foretold things to come in the name of the Lord: for they always had a true intention to foretell such things, and to give assurance unto the people, that whatsoever they foretold in the name of the Lord should come to pass, whether their predictions were for form expressly disjunctive, or whether they were absolute and peremptory, that is, not charged with conditions, exceptions, or provisos, either implicit or explicit. Somewhat then they always expressly foresaw, as often as they took upon them to foretell or foreshew things to come, but seldom did they know all which came to pass that their saying might be fulfilled.

3. The problem proposed cannot be distinctly resolved without a review of the different ways or manner how things future were foretold by the prophets. Now of divine testimonies or predictions some were merely prophetical, others prophetically typical; and both these stems again did divide themselves into more branches. Some predictions merely prophetical were delivered in a plain grammatical or historical sense of words, others in terms allegorical or enigmatical. Of such predictions merely prophetical as are expressed in the plain grammatical or historical sense of words, some did refer to one matter or fact, or to some determinate point of time, and in the intention of the Holy Ghost were to be but once fulfilled; others, according to the same literal sense, were to be fulfilled (sometimes in the same, sometimes in a different measure) oftener than once, at divers times, and in several ages. Of such predictions as were to be but once fulfilled, and that according to the plain literal sense, this affirmative is universally true—The prophets had always a distinct knowledge or apprehension of the sum or substance of the events which are said to come to pass that their saying might be fulfilled. Search all the predictions of our Saviour's incarnation, nativity, circumcision, of his passion, resurrection, and ascension: whatsoever places in the prophets do literally refer to these points were to be but once fulfilled; for our Saviour was to be but once incarnate, but once to be born, to die but once, to be raised from death once for all. Now if the prophets, which did literally foretell these things, had not distinctly foreseen the substance (at least) of these evangelical mysteries, they must either have raved in their predictions, (as it is presumed the heathen prophets or Apollo's priests used to

do,) or else have foretold them only after such a manner as Caiaphas did foretell his death. And the 625
fulfilling of their prophecies, though according to their plain literal assertive sense, could not prove them to have been prophets properly so called, that is, men endowed with the true spirit of divination: for no man, I think, will say that Caiaphas was thus qualified, although he prophesied in some sort of our Saviour's death.

Jeremiah surely did foresee that the promised seed should be conceived of a pure virgin, when he uttered that prophecy, chapter xxxi. 22: so did Isaiah foresee that the Messias, whom they continually expected, should be despised of many, should be *a man of sorrows*, should die and rise again, when he uttered the prophecy, chapter xxxv. 3; but we have not the like inducement to believe that he did so distinctly apprehend that the expected Messias should be brought up in Nazareth, although this was foretold by him, chapter xi. 1, not in the plain literal sense, but enigmatically.

4. Where the prediction, according to the plain literal sense, was in the intention of the Holy Ghost to be oftener fulfilled than once, the prophet which foretold it did always distinctly foresee the event in the first place foretold, or the first fulfilling of his own prediction: there is not the like necessity for us to believe or think that he had the like distinct foresight or apprehension of those events in which one and the selfsame prophecy was the second, third, or fourth time to be fulfilled. Isaiah distinctly foresaw the future inclination of these Jews, by their present disposition to draw near to God with their lips, and be far from him in their hearts, and that their hypocrisy (if continued) would work their destruction; otherwise

he had but raved, or but spoken by guess: but that the matter of this his reproof or prophetical admonition should be more exactly fulfilled of the Jews six hundred years after his time, as it was, we cannot determine whether he did foresee this or no. In that vision made unto him, chapter vi., he distinctly foresaw this people's proneness to wink with their eyes, and to harden their hearts unto their own destruction, and desolation of their country; and out of his distinct foresight hereof he did deliver his message in an imperative sense, *Excæca, obdura; Make blind their eyes, and harden their hearts;* which in the prophetical use of these words is usually as much (but no more) as if he had said, 'I am commanded to forewarn you of such a spirit of slumber and hardness of heart now creeping upon you, that (unless you repent) your cities shall be desolate,' &c. But albeit we resume what we formerly granted, and cannot now deny, that Isaiah had a distinct apprehension of our Saviour's death and resurrection, yet whether he had the like distinct apprehension or foresight of that excecation and obduration of his people which did presage the second desolation of Jerusalem and destruction of the second temple, as he had of the former made by Nebuchadnezzar, is questionable: and the more probable part of the question is, that he had not. Of the return of Judah from the Babylonish captivity, Isaiah (as appears from the sixth chapter) had a true prenotion; yet neither so full nor distinct as the prophet Jeremiah had, when he saw the captivity come upon them: for from the book of Jeremiah, not of Isaiah, Daniel (a prophet no way inferior to either of them) learned the distinct time of his captived people's return to their own land. As for the time of the second temple's destruction, or for the destruction of it at all, that

Daniel did neither learn from the prophecy of Isaiah, or of Jeremiah, or of any books before extant; for it 626
was revealed unto him immediately from the Author of truth himself, and after such a manner as that we cannot reasonably imagine either the substance or circumstance of what was then revealed to have been known to any prophet before him. And yet it is true, that divers prophecies, both of Isaiah and of Jeremiah, were more exactly fulfilled in the desolation of Judah by Titus, than they had been fulfilled in the former desolation by Nebuchadnezzar.

5. But predictions prophetically typical (as well as testimonies merely prophetical) were of two sorts. In some such predictions the plain literal sense did fit the antitype as well as it did the type, as in the prediction beforementioned, *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son;* and in the like, Ps. lxxii. In others, the literal inscription did fit the type only according to the plain, literal, or logical sense, and the antitype only in the moral or symbolical sense. Of both sorts it is true that the prophets always had a view or apprehension of that which was immediately foretold according to the literal sense, or of the first fulfilling of it; the case is the same as it was in testimonies merely prophetical. But of that which was immediately signified, not by words, but by some matter of fact or historical event whereto the words in the literal sense immediately refer, of such second events, or of the fulfilling of the prophecy both according to the literal and mystical sense, the prophet had not always a distinct foresight or apprehension. Such as they sometimes had, was by extraordinary privilege or dispensation; it was no necessary appendix of the ordinary gift of prophecy; less appendant thereon than the prenotion or foresight of the second

or third event was upon the foresight or apprehension of the first. For in that case the same prophecy, though often fulfilled, was yet always fulfilled only according to a fuller importance or growth of the same literal sense, without the intervention or mixture of any matter of fact which could properly be called a real type or map of that which afterwards happened. As, if the prophet Isaiah did not by virtue of the ordinary gift of the Spirit foresee the second or third remarkable fulfilling of that prophecy, *This people draw near me with their lips, but are far from me in their hearts;* it is less probable that the prophet Jeremiah should foresee the second or more exact accomplishment of that prophecy, *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, which brought up the house of Israel out of the north country,* &c. Jer. xxiii. 7, 8: for in the second fulfilling of this prophecy, besides the improvement or sublimation of the literal sense, there was an intervention of matter of fact or type.

6. Again, if it be doubtful whether the prophets had always, or for the most part, such a distinct foresight of the antitype as they had of the type, or if it be more probable that they had no such apprehension of the antitype when the literal sense of their words did (though in a different degree) truly fit both, then is there no probability that they should foresee the second accomplishment of such prophecies as no way reach the antitype in the plain, literal, or grammatical sense, but by symbolical or emblematical importance. Isaiah, no doubt, had a clear foresight of Eliakim's admission into Shebnah's office, whose deposition he likewise foresaw: but that he foreknew

the harmony between the deposition of Shebnah (which he knew would shortly be fulfilled) and the rejection of the Jewish rulers, or between Eliakim's 627
advancement and our Saviour's exaltation after his resurrection, we have no probable inducement to believe; but inducements many to persuade us that the foreknowledge of things thus foreprophesied and foreshadowed, was for the most part reserved unto the Holy Spirit, not imparted to the prophets, who in foretelling or foreshadowing the antitype were for the most part his organs only, though his agents in the prediction of the type, and did engage their credits only for the first fulfilling of the prophecies, or for their fulfilling in general. Of the difference betwixt the knowledge of the Spirit of God, and the prophets whom he did employ in representation of mysteries to come, we may have a proportionable scale in the difference betwixt the extraordinary herald, or other inventor of such devices as they give, and the ordinary painter. An ordinary scholar that should see a painted eclipse of the sun with this inscription, *Totum adimit quo ingrata refulget,* would easily apprehend that this word *ingrata* refers to the moon; but what ingratitude or ingrateful person the moon in this device should represent, that he could not learn from skill in painting, but from the history of the times, or from the author of this device, which (to my remembrance) was an Italian prince, who had been brought under a cloud, much prejudiced in his honour and fortunes, by an unthankful plant of his stock whom his favour and countenance had advanced to the dignity of a cardinal. Or if one should intreat a skilful painter to represent three small vessels in the same river, distant one from another near upon the same line, one of them using the furtherance of oars and

wind to go speedily against the stream, another the benefit of oars to outrun the stream, and a third in the middle moving neither swiftlier nor slowlier than the stream itself doth, with this motto or inscription, *Videor occursari utrisque*, the ingrosser of this device from his own experience would easily conceive the truth of the inscription in the grammatical or natural construction of the words, and might conjecture in general that they imported somewhat more than a bare representation of what we see by daily experience verified of things floating in the water. For whilst we row swiftly by them we think they come against us, when they go the same way which we do, but more gently. And this is the condition of such men in our times as will not combine with factious spirits, either with such as by help of arts and other potency directly oppose the truth, or such as follow it with furious zeal or indiscretion. He that seeks to hold the middle course betwixt these opposites, regulating as well his affections as his opinions by the placid current of the water of life, neither striving against it nor seeking to outrun it, shall be thought to oppose both parties, and come in danger of being crushed between them. But this moral is more than the ingrosser of such a device could apprehend, without further instruction than the review of his own work, or the grammatical sense of the inscription (suppose he understood Latin) would afford him. Now the prophets in many cases were but the ingrossers of such visions or representations of mysteries to come, as the Holy Ghost did dictate unto them, whether by word or matter of fact, or both ways. The full importance of many such representations neither was nor could be revealed, save only by Him which had the spirit of prophecy not by measure.

7. If Enoch, Moses, Elias, and the whole fellowship of prophets which foretold our Saviour's coming, 628
(whether first or second,) had been spectators of all his miracles, or earwitnesses of all his words, every one of them would have learned more from him than all of them knew before: each of them would have been able to make better construction of one another's words, than any of them without his interpretations could have made of his own. It is a lamentable negligence in many interpreters, not to observe or seek after the manifest proofs which our Saviour gave of his immense prophetic spirit, from which, for the most part, they gather only moral doctrines and uses: for that saying, though delivered by authors not canonical, is yet canonical and universally true, *Never spake man like this man.* And thus he spake as well in interpretation of prophetical predictions or legal ceremonies as in his expositions of the moral law.

8. Briefly then, if we had no better interpreter of the prophets than the prophets themselves, or no clearer apprehension of the mysteries now exhibited than they had when they foretold them, this would be sufficient to confirm our faith, that they spake by the Spirit of God; more than sufficient to leave us without excuse, if we should not glorify Christ as God: but when it is said that we are *built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles,* the meaning is, not that we are bound to ground our faith only upon the actual apprehensions or intentions of the prophets and apostles, but especially upon the intent and meaning of the sacred Spirit, by whom they spake and were inspired. For (as I said before) they were sometimes or in some respects his agents, in others his organs only: nor are we bound to believe that his inspirations or instructions, such as concern the particular point whereto

they spake, were always comprehended by those that were plentifully inspired by him: for his inspirations were ofttimes more plentiful than their capacity was, and yet the overflow not spilt, but plentifully diffused to after-ages in matter of fact or historical event, if we do not so much contemplate these in themselves, as the sweet disposition of them by the divine all-seeing Providence.

Lastly, in those places of prophetical predictions which admit either amphibology of construction or equivocal sense of words, or both, it was not necessary that the prophets themselves should distinctly apprehend both constructions or senses, but only that which they intended; and yet their sayings might be and have been fulfilled in both. Yet this last branch of the resolution of the former question will bring forth another—Whether the prophecies of the scriptures without prejudice to their sacred truth admit amphibologies, or equivocal literal senses?

CHAP. XVII.

Whether Divine Prophecies or Predictions concerning Christ may admit Amphibologies, or ambiguous Senses.

WERE I in this place to meddle with the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, (a point which in
629 due time and place will come to be discussed in these commentaries,) I should surely balk that saying of St. Peter, Acts iii. 21, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι, &c., that is, in our reading, *Whom the heavens must receive* or *contain until the time of restitution.* This one place, in some men's judgments, will sufficiently conclude for us in that great controversy concerning Christ's transubstantial or consubstantial presence in the sacrament: for if the heavens must contain his body, or human nature, *until the time of restitution,* he

neither is nor can be present (according to this nature) in the sacrament whilst it is celebrated here on earth. But to this allegation the Lutheran long since hath shrewdly replied, by making a quite contrary construction of the words alleged, without alteration of any letter or point, though not without some amphibology in the whole sentence, besides an equivocal or double signification of one word. First, then, it cannot be denied, that the words forecited may without violence to any rule of grammar be construed as if they were thus transposed, ὃν δεῖ δέξασθαι μὲν οὐρανὸν, that is, *he must receive the heavens*, rather than the heavens him. And δέξασθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν, without fraud or covin, may import as much as *to take the possession or government of heaven*, which our Saviour after his resurrection did, and is to retain both possession and dominion of heaven and all things else, *until the time of restitution* whereof St. Peter there speaks. For so Camillus is said by a good author[a] δέξασθαι τὴν πόλιν, *to have received the city*, that is, to have taken the government of it upon him: and the Hebraism, whereof the Greek in the New Testament hath for the most part some tincture or relish, is not averse from this interpretation: for so saith the psalmist, speaking (I take it) by way of prophetical type of our Saviour's exaltation, *When I shall receive the congregation I will judge uprightly.* Psalm lxxv. 2. Now our Saviour's receiving of heaven, and of the world itself, in this sense is without interruption, without dispensation; for he is perpetual governor of it; but that heaven doth so indispensably receive or contain our Saviour's body, or human nature, that he may not at any time go or be out of it, until the time of restitution, or the last day, is more than any man safely

[a] Plutar. in Vita Camil.

may affirm. Surely he was present with St. Paul, and was seen by him after another manner than he is present with or seen by the Lutherans or papists in their sacraments. And how erroneous soever their doctrines concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament be, this text can be of no great use to refute them.

2. Yet some have replied upon the Lutheran, that by the forecited interpretation of this text they make St. Peter (a most sacred writer doubtless) to speak in the language of Ashdod, as ambiguously as Apollo (whilst he did best deserve or brook the style of λόξιος) ever did in his heathenish oracles. But this reply, with what eloquence soever it might be pressed upon the Lutherans, may by them be as easily, and yet as forcibly retorted upon such as make it: for if it be a fault to grant that these sacred oracles may admit amphibologies, or a scandal to give such interpretations as may occasion others thus to conceive of them; the fault and scandal (for aught I conceive) must be equally divided between the Lutheran interpreters and their opposites: for if either would yield to other in their interpretations of this text, either for the right placing or construction of the words, or for the various signification of one and the same word, there could be
630 no scandal given or taken. He in this case gives the greatest scandal (if a scandal it be to grant amphibologies in prophetical or apostolical writings) who is most peremptory in his own opinion, or faster wedded to the interpretations of his own sect or faction. For myself, (I thank God,) I can with patience and Christian charity permit either party to embrace their own interpretation of this place, being fully resolved that to grant either amphibological or equivocal senses, or both, in one and the same sentence, whether of moral

or prophetical writings, can be no prejudice to that sacred esteem which all men ought to have, and may have of them. And he that will take upon him to distinguish the dictates of the Holy Ghost from the answers of Apollo λόξιος, by this division or difference, that the one did admit ambiguous constructions, (whether for amphibologies or equivocal senses,) which the other doth not admit, shall in this doing neither much prejudice the heathen Apollo, nor much magnify the oracles of God.

3. To the objection we are to answer anon. Our position for the present is, that many passages, as well in the prophets as other sacred oracles, may and do admit both amphibologies and ambiguous senses, and that the same prophecies are ofttimes fulfilled according to both senses; that in the interpretation of moral precepts which are ambiguous, we do not offend, unless we choose the sinister, or less safe part, in our practice. It is so in this case as in doubtful opinions; the one part is usually more safe to be followed in practice than the other, although there be no absolute resolution whether is speculatively more true. As, suppose it to be equally probable on both sides whether tithes be due *jure divino*, or no; yet it would be the safer way for every man to pay his tithes as duly as if he were fully resolved that they were due by God's peremptory law: for so long as any doubt remains whether they be due by God's law or no, the detaining of them cannot by any human law be made *ex fide*, it is οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως [b], and whatsoever is so is (in our apostle's sense) a most grievous sin. But to proceed in our assertion.

4. Two grave and learned writers [c] in their times (and their times were ancient in respect of ours) have

[b] Rom. xiv. 23. [c] Angelomus and Rupertus.

observed an amphibology in the directions which Samuel gave to Saul, (from God's own mouth questionless,) 1 Sam. x. 8: *Thou shalt go down before me to Gilgal; and, behold, I will come down unto thee, to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings: seven days shalt thou tarry, till I come to thee, and shew thee what I will do.* It was Saul's misfortune, shall I say, or misdemeanour, to make choice of the worse part of that double construction which these words may admit; for this amphibology was not *in scripto*, but in words uttered, though afterwards committed to writing. Reason might have taught Saul, that if the war were undertaken, it was to be administered likewise by the counsel of the Lord; and therefore he did foolishly in adventuring to offer sacrifice, or do any other solemn act, before the prophet (who was the Lord's ambassador in this business) came unto him. Although it be said, chap. xiii. 8, that *he tarried seven days, according to the time set by Samuel*, yet in this doing surely he did not as Samuel appointed him to do; otherwise Samuel had done more foolishly of the two. He stayed then the just measure of that time which Samuel had appointed, but he did not observe the season, the end, or purpose which Samuel had appointed. The seven days were appointed him to offer
631 solemn sacrifice; and if he had not digressed from Samuel's direction herein, the seven days of sacrifice had been his solemn inauguration to the kingdom, as may with probability be gathered from the thirteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter: *Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord thy God, which he commanded thee: for now would the Lord have established thy kingdom upon Israel for ever.*

5. To admit either an amphibology in sentences by mutual transposition of words or clauses, or ambiguous signification of words by changing of points, can be no greater disparagement to the sacred authority of the original text, than the equivocal or ambiguous signification of the same word without any alteration of points or letter would occasion; if either sort of ambiguities did justly minister any such occasion at all. Now that the selfsame word or words may in one and the same sentence admit ambiguous and much different significations, no man, that reads the scriptures with as much diligence or observance as reverence, can make question. There is no difference at all betwixt Christians and Jews, much less amongst the Christians themselves, about letters or points in the eighth Psalm, in that verse especially, *Thou hast made him little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.* This word *little* admits two senses grammatically much different, and yet must respectively be interpreted according to the full purport of both. This psalm, by the title and inscription, is a psalm of David, and bears the character of David's pen: the subject or matter of it is thanksgiving to God for his extraordinary favour unto man above all other visible creatures. That which raised his thoughts to such a high pitch, and his expressions of them in such a lofty prophetical strain as he here useth, was his serious contemplation of the beauty of these heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, and stars, &c., all which he knew to be the works of God's own hand: and yet he saw them nothing so much regarded by him as man, even the meanest of men, Enoch or Ben Adam. The heavens indeed were far above men in situation or place; but man was further above them in dignity than he was below the angels or

celestial creatures, Elohim. Now if we respect only the plain literal sense of the psalmist's speech, or consider it as it reflects only upon the history of the first creation, the Hebrew מְעַט is an adverb of quantity, and is rightly rendered by the Latin *paulo* or *aliquantulum*, as it is most true that man by the gift of creation was *little lower than the angels*, being true lord and king of this inferior world. But most psalmists (David especially) whilst they contemplate the sacred histories of times past, not as politicians do histories secular, but as *vates præteritorum*, as men wrapt with God's goodness towards their forefathers, become withal *vates futurorum*, true prophets of better things to come. In this admiration of man's first estate which was now lost, David had a view or glimpse of his restauration to it, or a better: whatsoever his thoughts or apprehensions for the present were, his expressions by disposition of Divine Providence reached the manner of man's restitution to it, as they do the first estate itself from which we fell. And in respect of this mystical sense the same Hebrew מעט, without any alteration at all, is an adverb of time, and is most divinely rendered by our apostle, Heb. ii. 5, 6, &c.: *Unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak. But one in a cer-*
632 *tain place testified, saying, What is man, that thou art so mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him lower, for a little while, than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: thou hast put all things under his feet*, &c. His inference is admirable: for albeit the former words, *Thou hast made him but a little lower than the angels*, were literally true of the first man Adam, yet were they not verified in any son of Adam:

nor were the words following, *Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands*, &c. ever fulfilled, either in the first man, or in any other creature; nor can they in their exquisite sense be applied to any beside the second Adam, or Son of man κατ' ἐξοχήν. He is now Lord of all; all things are subject to him, even as he is the Son of man. And that he might be thus crowned with glory and honour, and bring his brethren (miserable men, and the sons of miserable men) unto glory, he was for *a while to be made lower than the angels through the sufferings of death*, as our apostle hath it, ver. 9. But to be made lower than the angels after this manner, was to be made a great deal lower than they or the meanest of men, as the Son of man was, though but for a little time.

6. But the utmost extent of that variety of senses which may arise, either from the different signification of one and the same word, or from amphibology of construction, from diversity of points, or change of letters, is not infinite. And if we should examine all the possible changes of points or letters which the rabbins or others imagine, there will not appear any such difference throughout the whole Bible for the quality or morality of the several senses thus occasioned, as the alteration of one point often doth in secular writings; not any such as was in that ambiguous answer which a bishop of this land sometimes gave to a wicked proposal, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:* had he pointed this saying as it might have been pointed, his counsel had been good and ghostly; but leaving the pointing of it to their discretion which asked his resolution, his dealing was impious and diabolical. But the founder of an abbey did leave this inscription upon the frontispiece thus

rightly pointed, *Porta patens esto: nulli claudatur honesto:* the turning of one point out of his place thus, *Porta patens esto nulli: claudatur honesto,* did turn the abbot (as the tradition is) out of his place: *Sicque unum ob punctum perdit Robertus asylum.* But the variety of pointing or changing letters, which hath been by divers imagined in the Hebrew, exposeth no man to the like danger, can give no countenance to any lewd or wicked practices. A various reading may sometimes hinder or encumber the true mystical or spiritual sense, it never depraveth the moral sense; and ofttimes again it furthereth the true and mystical sense: as that place of Jeremiah xxv. 38. is very ambiguous, and variously rendered by divers good interpreters. Some read, *The land shall be desolate because of the fierceness of the Grecian;* as if Greece had taken the name of Ionia from the Hebrew *Ionah,* which is the word used in that place: others, and those of good note, read, *because of the fierceness of the dove:* most of modern writers read, *because of the fierceness of the oppressor,* or *tyrant.* The participle or the verbal (as some good Hebricians observe) is both active and passive, either *an oppressor* or *an oppressed.* From the passive signification the dove hath its name in the Hebrew, because it is so simple a creature, exposed to oppression, without active ability to oppress others.
633 Howsoever we translate it in this place, or in the like, Jerem. xlvi. 16, there will be no danger in the moral sense, nor no controversy about the fulfilling of this prophecy in Nebuchadnezzar, who was no dove for disposition, unless it were for his folly after his conquest of Egypt and the neighbour countries.

7. Yet dare I not condemn the vulgar translation [d],

[d] Thus to think of the vulgar translation Fagius's testimony of the translator persuades me upon the eighth verse of the

or some ancient interpreters who follow the Vulgar, or the same translation which the Vulgar makes; neither of them (as in charity I presume) being ignorant that the words may bear the same translation which the most now follow. Both of them might have better reasons, of the two known senses which the original might well bear, to choose that sense which they embrace, than I have to approve the contrary: for however the dove be a silly impotent creature in itself, yet was it a nursing-mother (as some ancient writers say) unto Semiramis, that great foundress of Babylon, and was the royal ensign of the Babylonish empire, sometimes as terrible to the eastern nations as the Roman eagles were to the western. And it is not unusual even for sacred writers to decipher the tyrannical or revenging power of greatest sovereignties by their ensigns, whether these were by nature terrible or weak: and thus our Saviour himself describes the sagacity and potency of the Roman forces by their ensigns. This latter reading, *a facie columbæ*, doth much better characterise the swiftness of Nebuchadnezzar's coming upon the Egyptians, and the necessity of the Jews' speedy flight from out that land, than if we read *from the face* or *wrath of the oppressor*, or (as the Seventy have it) *from the mighty sword.* The

fourth chapter of Genesis: Thargum Hierosolymitanum consentit cum Latina vulgata editione, sic enim habet, *Et dixit Cain ad Hebel fratrem suum, veni, egrediamur foras, sive in agrum*, &c. Quod propterea huc adfero, ne quis temere, et impudenter vulgatam editionem Latinam rideat, exibilet, explodat, atque plane condemnet, sicubi illam a veritate Hebraica forte dissentire invenerit. Hoc enim fere, deprehendo, quod ubi ea veritatem Hebraicam non sequitur, aut Septuaginta, aut Thargum Onkeli vel Ionathæ, aut Hierosolymitanum, aut aliquem ex commentatoribus Hebræorum sequitur. Adeo, ut ejus translationis author quisquis fuerit, non temere ex suo capite finxerit, si qua in re a textu Hebraico discrepare videtur.—Fagius in translat. præcip. Vet. Testam. collat. p. 22.

prophet in that forty-sixth chapter, ver. 16, implies, that unless they take their flight in time, they should wish, when it was too late, that they had wings like a dove, to fly away and be at rest. The author of the Vulgar Latin differs in many places from our modern translations, not out of ignorance of the different senses which the original might bear, but out of choice: and although he sometimes err, yet for the most part *causas habet error honestas*, he had some probable reason so to err; nor doth the error, howsoever occasioned, induce any dangerous depravation either of the moral or prophetical sense. Sometimes he aims at some further mystery than the contrary reading which the Hebrew (supposing it were always pointed as now we have it) will reach unto. There is as great a difference in the reading of one or two words, without alteration of any consonant, in the last verse of the second chapter of Isaiah, betwixt the vulgar translation and ours, as in any place which I have observed. That verse we read, *Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?* and thus we read it upon supposition that the original בַּמָּה־־ was thus pointed. The Vulgar Latin (according to Forerius's emendation of it) thus; *Quiescite ergo ab homine, cujus spiritus in naribus ejus est: quia excelsus reputatus est ipse:* and thus both he and the former Vulgar read it, presuming that the original word was not בַּמָּה but בָּמָה. I refer the determination of this various reading to accurate and unpartial critics of the Hebrew dialect. For mine own part, I must confess, the material circumstances of the text may incline unto that reading which the Vulgar follows, and St. Jerome approves, yea, is very zealous for it. But it may be questioned, whether the original *bamah* do usually, or in any other place

besides this, denote the height or dignity of any man's person or place, though it be the usual word for expressing those high places which were dedicated unto idols[d]. But this question I submit to the same reference with the former more general: it sufficeth that there is no harm in either sense.

8. However, if the oracles of God do admit such amphibologies, or various senses, as these places last alleged by us do, why do we Christians blame the heathen oracles for giving doubtful or ambiguous answers? or wherein do the scriptures afford more manifest documents of a Divine Spirit speaking in them, if prophetical oracles be as ambiguous for the sense as the oracles of Apollo were? It was not amphibology or equivocation simply considered, but the artificial or meditated contrivance of ambiguous or equivocal senses, after they had been consulted, concerning businesses already set on foot and in agitation, which did convince the heathen oracles of delusion. Had that ambiguous answer *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*—been given by the oracle (unconsulted) two or three hundred years before Pyrrhus' birth, or the Roman empire's growth unto that mediocrity which in Pyrrhus' days it had, the very prediction of such equipoise between the house of Æacus and of Romulus, or of such doubtful conflicts as happened between the Epiroteans and the Romans, would have been a good proof of a divine inspiration; no presumption of delusion, on which side soever success had taken. Or if the like ambiguous oracle, Κροῖσος ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν διαλύσει, had been delivered, unsought after, as long before the birth of Crœsus as that prophecy of Isaiah, chap. xlv. 1, &c. was before

[d] Sometimes it signifies the high places appointed for God's service, as 1 Sam. ix. 13, 14; and Deut. xxxii. 13. it signifies the excellency, or choice places of the earth.

Cyrus was conceived, before he could think of God, or be thought of by men; whatsoever in the issue had become of Crœsus, the foretelling of his name, and manner of expedition against Cyrus, would have argued a spirit truly prophetical, though not so distinctly prophetical or sublime, as that spirit was by which Isaiah conceived the forementioned prophecy concerning Cyrus. But seeing the oracle was dumb until Cyrus was in arms against the Babylonians and their confederates, until victory did hover betwixt two mighty adversaries without expressing of her inclination to either, both of them being so deeply engaged, that the one (even in politic conjecture) was to have a mighty fall; the contrivance of this answer, in such doubtful and ambiguous terms, argues it to have been conceived by the spirit which hath proffered his service and assistance to later popes, when they were consulted upon like occasions.

Now seeing our sacred oracles were given many hundred of years before the events foretold by them, and since exhibited, had any seminal cause or observable original out of which they were to grow; the greater the variety of their senses or constructions is, the more admirable proof doth their accomplishment exhibit of that infinite wisdom which did dictate them unto the prophets, especially if one and the same oracle in process of time be verified or fulfilled according to two or more possible constructions, or in senses which may seem contrary or much different. After this manner was that forementioned prophecy, Jerem. xxiii. 6, 7, 8, fulfilled; first in the ordinary and usual sense, in the people's return from Chaldea, and those northern countries through which they had been dispersed; and about five hundred years after, or from the time of our Saviour's death, the same prophecy was accomplished again in the most exquisite literal sense, and

according to the primeval signification of one and the same word, צָפוֹנָה, yet these [e] two senses in which this scripture was fulfilled, though different, were not contrary, but subordinate.

9. That place of the prophet Isaiah, chap. xix. 18, is subject to the like variety of reading or doubtful sense, not by substitution of one or two points for others, but by the mistaking of one consonant for another, being very like unto it, as of *mem* for *samech*. The prophet, no doubt, did write and intend *cherez*, not *cherem;* for it had been *verbum male ominatum*, 'an ill abodance,' if the first of these five Egyptian cities, which were to speak the language of Canaan, should be called *the city of destruction*. It was to all of them matter of glory to become subjects to Christ's kingdom, and it was the glory of this one above the rest, that it should be the first participant of this glory: for this word לְאַחַת, without any alteration of letter or point, doth signify sometimes *the first*, as well as *one*, because one is the first in numbers. Now the first of these cities did never so well brook its ancient name of Heliopolis, that is, *the city of the sun*, by which it was known amongst the heathens, as when it was enlightened by the Sun of righteousness; and yet this splendour, through its inhabitants' default, was not perpetual; for, as I take it, before St. Jerome's time it was become the city of destruction or desolation, having turned God's blessing (as many others did) into a curse. And this alteration or change might be truly characterised in the substitution of one letter for another; whether that happened by the negligence of transcribers, or otherwise: for (as it is [f] elsewhere

[e] *From the north land*, and *from the land of darkness*.

[f] In a sermon entitled, *Nazareth and Bethlehem*, towards the latter end, and in a treatise of the holy catholic Church.

observed) those things which be *æquivoca a casu* in respect of men, are *æquivoca a consilio* with reference to the Divine Providence, which though it never cause the errors of men, yet doth it order and moderate them.

10. It is doubtful (as some good writers observe) whether the prophet Zechariah, chap. xi. 13, did write הַיּוֹצֵר or הָאוֹצָר, that is, *the potter*, or *the treasury*. That Hebrew rabbi, whom Vatablus amongst other good Christian writers approves, is of opinion that he wrote האוצר, and that the letter *jod* was added by negligence of transcribers. Admitting his conjecture to be true, yet it no way disparageth the sincerity of the Hebrew text, but rather occasioneth a greater admiration of the all-seeing providence of the Author of scriptures, in representing that devolution of the price of blood (which Judas retendered unto the high priest) from the sacred treasury, (unto which such brogues or escheats as this were by ordinary course due,) unto the buying of the potter's field. It is but one and the same branch of Divine Providence, thus to turn the negligence of transcribers to the setting forth of his wisdom, and to divert the wicked intentions of men unto the manifestation of his justice and goodness.

11. Sometimes again one and the same original word may have contrary significations, and have another to parallel it in its contrariety. So the Hebrew *kalal*, in its abstract or first signification, answers to the Latin *elevare*, to be light, or of no weight: and
636 hence, according to the variety of the matter or subject whereto it is appliable, it sometimes imports *vility* or *contempt*, and sometime *exaltation* or *advancement*. If we value the first signification of it, as it is appliable to the balance, or just scale, *to be elevated*, or *discovered to be light*, implies no good, but evil: yet *to be*

lifted up or *exalted above others*, not in just balance, but whiles things compared stand upon their own bottom or centre, includes matter of glory, or pre-eminence. The Hebrew *cabad*, which in its prime signification is contrary to *kalal*, and punctually answers to the Latin *grave esse*, or (in our English) *to be weighty, heavy*, or *sway downwards*, so long as the comparison stands betwixt things weighed in just balance, argues matter of better value or preeminence. And hence it is, that one and the same word, which in its prime signification imports *weight* or *heaviness*, in the next metaphorical or translated sense imports *praise, honour, glory:* yet if we take it out of the balance, and set it in some other special reference, it implies *depression, disgrace*, or *ignominy*. Now according to the two contrary significations of each of these words, whose prime significations are directly contrary, that prophecy of Isaiah, chap. ix. 1, was exactly fulfilled: *Primo tempore alleviata est terra Zabulon et terra Nepthali: et novissimo aggravata est via maris trans Jordanem Galilæa gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam.* So the old Vulgar reads it; but according to Forerius, thus: *Primo tempore vilis fuit terra Zabulon, et terra Nephthalin, et novissimo honorata fuit, via maris trans Jordanem Galilæa gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in obscuro, vidit lucem magnam.* Zabulon and Naphtali in our prophet's time had been weighed, as Belshazzar afterwards was, in the balance, and were found too light. They were the first which were swept away by the rod of Asshur, and led captives into a strange land; yet were they the first unto whom the gospel of the kingdom was preached by our Saviour himself: and so the former prophecy, which had been

in our prophet's time fulfilled of them, according to the prime signification of the Hebrew *kalal*, which is, *to be vile* or *light*, was in our Saviour's time fulfilled of them according to the second importance of the same word, which is, *to be exalted* or *advanced*; and according to the first translated sense, or metaphorical signification of *cabad*, which is, *to be honourable* or *glorious*. The former fulfilling of this prophecy ye have in the sacred history, 2 Kings xv. 29: *In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.*

12. The second fulfilling of it is exactly related by St. Matthew, chap. iv. 12, 13, &c.: *Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.* But as Zabulon and Nephthalim changed their minds or opinion of Christ, whom at first they honoured; so
637 the words of this prophecy did change their signification, and were fulfilled of them again in a contrary sense. It was their glory, that they were elevated or lift up to heaven at our Saviour's first coming to them; it was their ignominy and misery, that they afterwards became *graves* or *gravati*, pressed down with their

sins to hell. For unto this place of the prophet Isaiah that speech of our Saviour refers, Matt. xi. 20, &c.: *Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not: Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee.* In this, our Saviour did speak as never man spake, and manifest himself to be the Prince of prophets, in that all his solemn speeches, as well as deeds (if we would be observant of them), direct us to some prophetical oracle or other, or reveal some mysteries before latent, or (which is all one) some mystical sense of scriptures. And however no prophecy can be truly said to be fulfilled only by way of accommodation or allusion, though there be no allusive sense of scriptures distinct from the several senses before mentioned; yet shall we not be able to perceive either the manner how many prophecies are fulfilled, or the literal sense of many places in the New Testament, unless, besides the grammatical signification or construction of the words, we know withal the matter (be it rite or custom, &c.) whereto they allude or refer.

CHAP. XVIII.

Containing the general Heads or Topics for finding out the several Senses of Scripture, especially for the just Valuation of the literal Sense, whether in the Old Testament or in the New.

SUCH qualifications, whether for learning or life, as Tully and Quintilian require in a complete orator, Galen in a physician, or other encomiasts of any liberal science, profession, or faculty, may require in a perfect professor of it, is but a part of these endowments which ought to be in a true divine, or professor of divinity. The professors of every other faculty may, without much skill in any profession besides their own, truly understand the genuine rules or precepts of it. All the learning which he hath besides serves but for ornament, is no constitutive part of the faculty which he professeth. But the very literal sense of many precepts, or of many fundamental rules and maxims in divinity, can neither be rightly understood nor justly valued, without variety of reading and observations in most other faculties and sciences that be, besides the collation of scripture with scripture, in
638 which search alone more industrious sagacity is required than in any other science there can be use of. The references, without whose knowledge the positive sense of many scriptures cannot be known, are respectively almost infinite, at least incomprehensible to any one man's reading or observation. It shall suffice in this place to comprehend the generality of all under this brief division. The matters whereto the scriptures, whether of the Old or New Testament, refer, are either rites and customs civil, or natural experiments not recorded by any canonical writers, or rites and customs, practices and experiments, recorded in

the canon of faith. It would be no difficult work to write a large volume of instances in either kind. Of both I present only these few; first of customs, practices, or experiments, not expressed in any canonical writer.

2. *Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand,* saith the psalmist, psalm cix. 6. The imprecations in this psalm, of whomsoever else they were literally meant, were fulfilled in Judas Iscariot; and for this reason this psalm was used at the degradation of bishops, when they were found traitors either to their calling or to their liege lords[a]. But the passage forecited hath a special reference to the custom of those ancient times, in which the adversary or accuser was to be placed on the right hand of him that was to be condemned, and on the left hand of him that was to be acquitted. The emblematical or moral sense of this custom is expressed by the psalmist in the verse following: *When sentence is given upon him, let him be condemned.*

3. Of Wisdom, saith Solomon, Prov. iii. 16, *Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.* A man of ordinary reading and observation would conceive by the character of this speech, that length of days was much better than riches or honour, because those are presented by Wisdom's left hand, but length of days by her right hand. But a learned critic (for those times wherein he lived) hath observed a more recondite sense of these words, charactered unto us in the custom of those ancient

[a] Post hæc rogavit Chilpericus pontifices ut aut vestis prætextati scinderetur, aut centesimus octavus psalmus (qui maledictiones Scariothecas continet) super eum recitaretur, vel certe in perpetuum communione privaretur.—Aimoinus, in lib. 3. cap. 26. pag. 99.

times whereunto Solomon alludes. It was the manner of the ancients to express all numbers under a hundred upon the fingers of their left hand, but hundreds and above hundreds upon the fingers of their right hand, as Juvenal describes the happiness of Nestor[b]:

> Fœlix nimirum, qui tot per sæcula mortem
> Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computat annos.

His years were more than could be numbered upon his left hand, for he lived three hundred years; a fair age, yet not comparable to the length of days, or number of years, which the right hand of Wisdom dispenseth to her followers: these exceed all vulgar scale, both for number and happiness.

4. Some places there be even in the New Testament whose force or elegancy cannot be apprehended
639 without some skill, either experimental or speculative, in meaner faculties. Most of the parables uttered by our Saviour, albeit we take them with his own expositions of them to his disciples, can hardly be understood by best divines of these times, unless they be weighed with the matter or subject whereon the parable is grounded, or to which his speeches in particular refer. No parable is more clearly expounded than the parable of the sower, and yet many good interpreters have erred in the exposition of it, and from this error have made the land of Jewry (whilst God's temporal blessing was upon it) to be

[b] In quibus verbis præter illum sensum qui est in promptu subest recondita quædam per digitos computandi ratio, qua omnis antiquitas utebatur. Quamvis enim per longitudinem dierum intelligatur interminabilis vitæ jucunda possessio, respicit tamen ad illud quod qui pertingebat annum vitæ centesimum, incipiebat in dextra manu computare, cum in sinistra superiores numerasset. Ut de Nestore, qui apud Ovidium dixerat—*vixi Annos bis centum: nunc tertia vivitur ætas.* Juvenalis ait, *Rex Pylius magno* &c.—Ant. Nebristencis in quinquagena, cap. 16. pag. 109.

envied for its fruitfulness in respect of others. To reap twenty bushels of corn for one of seed, exceeds the rate of fertile soils amongst us, and yet this is the lowest scantling of that increase which the seed sown in good ground did bring forth. But if we measure the increase mentioned in the parable, not from the measure of the seed which is sown and reaped, but from the particular grains which took root and prospered in good ground, we shall have no cause to accuse our own fields of barrenness in respect of Judæa. For one grain in some parts of this kingdom (not the most fertile) yields more than seventy, though others in the same land yield not twenty, and some, it may be, in other places, above a hundred.

5. He that knows not so much in the art of grafting, as that the graft doth sweeten the sap and moisture which it receives from the stock, not participating of its sourness, shall hardly understand St. Paul's meaning, Rom. xi. 24: *If thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature in a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree?* To graft wild plants in sweet stocks (at least for the graft so planted to prosper) is contrary to the ordinary custom of nature, and it is in particular more contrary to the nature of the olive than to any other tree, because it will hardly admit of any graft by reason of its fatness, nor will the grafts of it easily thrive in any other stock, if we may believe such as write of plants.

6. With sowing and planting, the dressing of vines hath more than affinity, and without some knowledge or experience of this part of husbandry, some entire parables, and other allegorical speeches uttered by our

Saviour himself, cannot rightly be interpreted: and for these three parts of husbandry and others, the rule is but one; 'that every one who takes upon him to expound those passages in the gospel which refer to these branches of husbandry, peruse such authors as write in particular of the customs or manners usual in that climate wherein our Saviour conversed in ancient times:' for neither doth the husbandry of these times, or of this climate wherein we live, in many points well suit with those practices or rules of husbandry whereunto our Saviour alludes.

7. But however many of our Saviour's parables refer unto these or like experiments in vulgar trades, yet sundry parables and other speeches uttered by him and by his apostles, require either speculative or experimental knowledge in more ingenuous and more noble professions; or in civil rites or customs which vary in several ages or nations. A man that had never seen any marriage celebrated out of his own native soil or neighbour countries, nor read of the rites or customs in this kind used by eastern nations, before or about the time of our Saviour's pilgrimage here on earth, could not be much edified by the parable of the ten
640 virgins, or the like, which allude to nuptial customs in those times. Brissonius and Roa would stead a preacher more which hath occasion to expound these parables, than twenty ordinary commentators or professors in divinity, unless it be such as have been beholden to these two, or other authors of miscellane philology.

8. To compare the tabernacle of the sun which God hath placed in the heavens, and the rising of this glorious light unto the manner of a bridegroom's coming out of his chamber after the manner and fashion in use with us, would be but an homely ex-

pression. Yet hath it pleased the Spirit of God to describe the outgoings of this great light which governs the day in that most elegant sacred hymn.: *In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.* Psalm xix. 4, 5. But the custom or manner of ushering bridegrooms in those times out of their chambers by lamps or torches in the night time, had a poetical decorum for representing the manner of the sun's recourse unto us after darkness, the morning star or strained glimmerings of the dawning being as his torch-bearers. And as the bridegroom's coming out of his chamber to fetch his bride was a silent poem of the sun's approach unto us; so the psalmist's description of the sun in its rising and course is a speaking picture of the coming of the Sun of righteousness into the world, after the light of prophecies or revelations, whether by Urim and Thummim, or by voice from heaven, had been far removed from the hemisphere of Judæa, until they began to return again in John Baptist and his father Zacharias, who were as the day star or dawning to usher in the Sun of righteousness, who was to continue his course from the one end of the earth to the other, with more indefatigable courage, and with more comfortable warmth than this visible sun doth visit the earth. He was that *strong man*, that *Gebor*, unto whom the psalmist compares the sun in its strength, for *Gebor* is his proper title. And I make no question but the glory of his kingdom begun here on earth, though descending from heaven where it shall be accomplished, was by the Holy Ghost intended, according to the mystical sense of that psalm, which is not a history only, but a true prophecy.

And our apostle's allegation of the fourth verse of

this psalm[c], Rom. x. 18, *Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world,* was not allusive only, but argumentative, and fulfilled in the preaching of the gospel by the apostles and their successors in the mystical sense, as it had been before those times daily verified in the literal.

9. But mere ignorance in these and the like parables of our Saviour, whose knowledge nearly concerned the generation in which and for whose good he uttered them, (however the knowledge of them much concerns us of this age and nation,) cannot be so prejudicial to all good Christians, as the ignorance of other parables, and other proverbial speeches of his, which alike merely concern mankind. Yet an ignorance there is of many rites and customs, unto which both the words of the prophets, and his explications of them, which
641 concern man's redemption by him, punctually refer according to the literal sense. Most of us know not him as our Redeemer, because we know not ourselves, nor that miserable bond of servitude which he did dissolve for us all. And this we know not, because we consider not the state and condition of legal servants unto cruel and tyrannical lords. We were servants to a most cruel tyrant. And the Son of God, for our redemption, became truly and properly a servant to his

[c] *Sed dico: An non audierunt?* Quartum argumentum sumptum ab eo quod Gentes antea quoque semper habuerunt præclaram divinæ bonitatis cognitionem. Quo argumento haud dubie Judæorum malitiæ plenam retundit invidiam. Quare inquit, hic tantopere offendimini ac ringimini, semper conantes modis omnibus impedire, ne evangelium communicetur Gentibus. An existimatis Gentes nunquam antea de bonitate Dei quicquam audivisse? Atqui Psalmographus diserte testatur quicquid cognosci de Deo potest, vel ex ipsa conditione rerum visibilium quæ in mundo sunt ab omnibus mortalibus exploratum abunde teneri. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrarum verba illorum.*—Andrea Hyperius in D. Pauli ad Romanos Epistolam exegema, cap. x. ver. 18.

Father before he became our Lord in special; and so must we be servants to him in special, before we become the sons of God. For we must be sons before we be heirs, and sons by adoption before we be made kings and priests unto his Father. I never read that passage of our apostle, Rom. viii. 15, *Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father,* but I always conceived there was somewhat more contained in it than was to be found in any lexicon or vulgar scholiast: yet what it should be in particular I learned of late from a learned professor[d] of another faculty, which he hath adorned by his more than ordinary skill in sacred antiquity and miscellane philology. Now if we value the apostle's words, *per quem clamamus, Abba, Pater,* with reference to the legal custom or manner by which some sort of slaves by birth and condition did claim the privilege of manumission or of adoption amongst the ancient Jews, the expression is full of elegancy, and most divine; the manner of their adoption to hereditaments temporal, was a kind of typical prophecy of our adoption to our eternal inheritance in the heavens.

[d] Et fallor nimium nisi ex hoc more et locutionis genere pendeat tum phrasis illa sacra apud D. Paulum περὶ υἱοθεσίας, sive adoptione in Epistola ad Galatas iv. *ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum* (seu *liberorum*) *reciperemus: quoniam autem estis filii* (seu *liberi*) *misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra clamantem, Abba, Pater. Itaque jam non es servus sed filius* (aut *proles*) *et hæres Dei per Christum,* tum illa ad Romanos, viii. 14: *Quicunque Spiritu Dei aguntur ii sunt filii* (seu *liberi*) *Dei. Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis in timorem, sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis, filiorum* (seu *liberorum*) *Dei, in quo* κράζομεν; eodem vocabulo utroque in loco utitur, *clamamus, Abba, Pater. Ipse enim Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro, quod sumus filii* (seu *liberi*) *Dei. Si autem filii* (seu *liberi*) *et hæredes.* Elegans est, ad receptos Ebræorum mores allusio.—Johannes Seldenus de successionibus in bona defuncti, &c. ad leges Hebræorum, cap. 4. pag. 38.

10. Were we as well acquainted either with boys' plays in ancient times as with our Christmas sports, or with the several kinds of Olympic games as we are with our country maygames or horseraces, we might be more beholden to ourselves in many points, than to ordinary professed expositors of sacred writ. For even unto childish sports, the Father of the fatherless, and Guardian of the helpless, our Saviour himself, sometimes refers us for the true meaning of his parables, as in Matthew xi., if we may believe Lyra or Theophylact in matter of fact: ***But whereunto shall I liken this generation? It is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented. For John came neither eating nor drinking, and yet they say, He hath a devil. The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. But wisdom is justified of her children.*** But whether there were any such positive custom amongst children as Lyra and Theophylact relate, I will not dispute *pro* or *con:* however, Maldonate's[e]

[e] Paulo propius sensum videtur Hugo Card. attigisse: scribit enim non personas personis; sed negotium negotio: nec partes partibus: sed totum toti comparari. Sensum enim esse, perinde se Scribarum et Pharisæorum causam habere, atque si pueri dicant sodalibus suis, Cecinimus vobis, &c. Sic enim posse illis dici, *Johannes vobis lamentatus est, et non planxistis; Filius hominis cecinit, et non saltastis.* Hunc esse verum sensum, ver. 19. magis probabimus. Nunc satis est ut moneamus valde esse usitatum, ut in parabolis non personæ personis, non partes partibus; sed totum negotium, toti negotio comparetur, cap. xiii. 24. simile factum est regnum cœlorum homini, qui seminavit bonum semen in agro. Non enim regnum cœlorum homini, sed potius semini, aut agro simile est. Itaque sensus est, Idem accidit in regno cœlorum, atque si quis seminasset bonum semen in agro suo, et ibidem versiculo 45. *Simile est regnum cœlorum homini negotiatori, quærenti bonas margaritas.* Non enim homini, sed

observation upon the place is of very good use for any that either intend to make a comment, or to read commentators upon our Saviour's parables with liberty of judgment or discretion. The best is, Jansenius hath better expounded this place with reference unto chil- 642
dren's sports in general, than Lyra or Theophylact have done, although we grant them such a peculiar kind of sporting as they supposed was then in use. *Verum ut ludi genus hoc incertum est, ita nec convenit literæ. Non enim in litera dicuntur hi quidem dicere,* Cantavimus vobis et non saltastis, *aliis vero,* Lamentavimus et non plorastis, *sed utrumque eisdem tribuitur. Et vana est Nicolai interpretatio, qui ideo dictum putat "coæqualibus suis dicunt," quia pueri divisi erant in duas æquales partes. Coæquales enim proprie dicuntur* coætanei, *et Græce in Matthæo, est* ἑταίροις, *id est,* sodalibus. *Proinde simplicius fuerit, sine specialis alicujus ludi imaginatione exemplum hoc intelligere secundum consuetudinem communem puerorum, qui in foro et lætioribus locis civitatum congregati inter se student ludendo effingere, quicquid ab aliis vident serio agi. Itaque aliquando nuptias effingunt, et nuptiales lætitias tibiarum aut aliorum instrumentorum cantu imitantur; aliquando vero funeralia obsequia exprimunt, in quibus apud Judæos planctibus et lamentatione quorundam ac lugubrium decantatione, solent homines ad tristitiam et fletum provocari. Hæc dum imitantur pueri, fit frequenter, ut quod joco agunt, non sit efficax, vel*

potius margaritæ simile est, et idem accidit in regno cœlorum, atque si quis quærat bonas margaritas, inventa autem una pretiosa margarita vendat omnia quæ habeat, et emat eam. Sexcenta sunt exempla generis ejusdem. Itaque frustra laborat, qui anxie quærit, quomodo personæ personis, partes partibus respondeant. Totum sententiæ corpus intuendum est, et integrum ex integra parabola trahendum : ne in partes divisum pereat, atque dissolvatur.—Maldon. vers. 16. cap. xiii. Matt.

ad tripudia nuptialia, vel ad fletus funerales provocandos.

11. But as for the Olympic games, or the like, whether elsewhere instituted in imitation of them, or before them, it is evident that the apostles and other sacred writers (St. Paul especially) had both seen them and made good use of them for the more lively expressions of many Christian duties. And unless we know the particular customs[f] unto which their words refer, we shall but play at blindman's buff in our expositions of them, or in our exhortations to such practices as they prescribe: *Consider him*, saith our apostle, *that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be weary and faint in your minds. Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.* Heb. xii. 3, 4. The words are metaphorical, or *verbo tenus*, allegorical, and allude unto those strivings or conflicts which seldom were determined without blood, wherein it was a shame to yield before any blood was drawn. Such was the law or practice of those games which the Latins call *pugilatus*, wherein *manus demittere*, 'to let down the hands,' was an acknowledgment of victory, which haply might have been recovered by the party wounded, or remitting his hands, unless his heart had been weaker than his hands. To this purpose that exhortation, Hebrews xii. 12, *Wherefore erect the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.* The duty whereto he exhorts them was no practice of alms or charity towards impotent or feeble men, but that the pastors, whom this precept doth especially concern, should encourage their flock to strive against sin, with as great courage and resolution as the Olympic or other gamesters did

[f] All that concern this argument are exquisitely handled by Petrus Faber in his Agonisticon.

against their antagonists; not to let down their hands, or give over after many wounds, or resistance unto blood; as being sure, though they died in fight, to be better rewarded than the victors were in these bodily fights. Unto the same courage and resolution the 643
prophet Isaiah had exhorted the people of God in his age, though not them only, but all succeeding generations. For his words are typically prophetical, and point directly to the time of our Saviour's coming to visit and redeem his people; and yet allusive withal unto the bodily strivings or wrestlings of those ancient times: *Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence; he will come and save you.* Isaiah xxxv. 3, 4. The end and scope as well of the prophet as of our apostle, was to inspire such life and courage into God's people in their heaviest pressures, as that Cæsarean soldier did into his mates, when Pompey's followers in Cæsar's absence had almost beaten them out of their trenches:

—— Peterem felicior umbras
Cæsaris aspectu; testem hunc Fortuna negavit,
Pompeio laudante cadam . . . . .
Vincimus, O socii; veniet, qui vindicet arces [g].

12. If we knew the true importance of *manus remissas*, we might know withal the true importance of βέβηλος, used by our apostle in the same place, which sometimes signifies a profane person; but so it signifies by consequence only: the punctual meaning of it in this chapter, verse 16, (if I be not mistaken,) is better expressed by the Syriac רפא, and by the Latin *remissus*, than by *profanus*; that is, such a one

[g] Lucanus, vi. 157.

as is ready to yield, rather than to endure any hard conflict; or such as Esau was, who did choose rather to relinquish his inheritance than to suffer a sharp hunger or thirst for a season.

Usual it was with St. Paul and with others, (whether sacred writers or writers of sacred mysteries,) to draw arguments *a minore ad majus;* that is, from the practice of such as were disposed to try masteries for temporary crowns or garlands, to persuade such abstinence or other observances requisite for all who seek after the incorruptible crown of glory, which cannot be taken from them: for the winning or wearing whereof no man can be prevented, so he strive for it lawfully. Witness that one place, for this present, 1 Cor. ix. 24—27: *Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? so run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.* But if of all those which run in secular races, it be not possible for more than one to receive the prize, or (as the original word imports) to snatch it from the blede or staff whereto they run, we may be sure that not so many would offer themselves to try masteries in this kind as otherwise would be forward, if every one that did his devoir might be assured of some reward sufficient to acquit or countervail his pains. If then this similitude between such as seek a corruptible and an incorruptible crown did run (as we say) *quatuor pedibus,* few of our apostle's auditors would have adventured

their pains or endeavours in that Christian course to which he exhorted all.

Maldonate's forementioned rule, for the right inter- 644
pretation of parables or similitudes of this kind, is as useful for the right interpretation of this place as for any other parable or similitude in scripture: and his rule (or rather the rule of Hugo Cardinalis, from whom he borrowed his animadversions upon Matthew xi. 16.) is thus: "We are not to compare persons with persons, nor to be curious in suiting particulars to particulars, but to accord the whole businesses handled in gross: as when it is said, *The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed in his field*, we are not to parallel the man, but rather the seed sown, or the field where it is sown, with the kingdom of heaven: or in this and the like generality; It happened in the plantation of the kingdom of heaven, as when a man hath sown good seed in his ground, the envious man comes and sows tares[h]."

13. But what was St. Paul's meaning in verse 24. of the forecited chapter? That every one which professeth Christianity must be more resolutely circumspect in his undertakings and their managings, than those few in comparison are, who enter the lists for a temporal prize or garland; otherwise they shall be sure to fail of their hopes, to be in worse case than such as come only as spectators, that purpose to be no actors in such prizes, or than such actors as do *nihil agere*, or after they have run sit down with loss. To this effect he expresses himself in the verses following: *Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things*, &c. But the very literal importance of those three words in the original, ὑπωπιάζω, κηρύξας, and ἀδόκιμος, cannot be so well learned from

[h] See his words in note [e], page 146.

any dictionary or lexicon, as from such as write of the Olympic games, or of that kind of trial of masteries which in his time or before was in use. The word ὑπωπιάζω is proper (I take it) unto wrestlers, whose practice it was to keep under other men's bodies, not their own, or to keep their antagonists from all advantage of hold, either gotten or aimed at. But our apostle did imitate their practice upon his own body, not on any others; for his own body was his chief antagonist. The word κηρύξας hath in that place no immediate reference unto the preaching of the gospel, but did generally import such as were tryers of Olympic games, whether wrestlings, whirlbats, or the like. The word ἀδόκιμος comprehends all which lost the prize for which they contended, whether by sluggishness or foul play.

The same word cometh to signify *a reprobate*, or a man finally rejected by God, or irreversibly deprived of his good Spirit, but at the second, third, or fourth hand. And those interpreters of sacred writ who take this title, usual in scripture, to be a metaphor of speech borrowed from false coins or counterfeit metals, fail more in logic than in grammar, though fail they do in both. It sometimes indeed refers or alludes unto false or counterfeit coins, and according to this reference it comes the nearest to the denotation of a reprobate, or a man finally rejected by God. For that coin which is for substance but brass or copper, will hardly, if at all, after it be cast aside upon trial, go amongst wise men for current money. The transmutation of baser metals into more precious, however some men profess this skill, is seldom effected, perhaps not facible: whereas he that was this year ἀδόκιμος in the Olympic games, or other like prizes, might the next year be εὐδόκιμος, or crowned as victor. But the original word,

for its formal or abstract signification, is a great deal more general than to be restrained either to coined metals, or to men which strive for mastery in any kind 645
of activity. It properly imports *a rejection upon just trial*, and is appliable to matters and persons almost infinite.

14. Or if we interpret this word by its reference unto money or coins, yet even these may be ἀδόκιμα more ways than one; either for the baseness of the metal, or for the counterfeit stamp, or for want of weight. For if it be but some grains too light, any man may refuse it, although it bears Cæsar's image and superscription. Or if it be full weight, and pure gold withal, yet if it be elsewhere estamped than where Cæsar shall appoint, or by any stamp or person not authorized, no man is bound to receive it, and he that tenders it is to be punished. And yet both these kinds of reprobate coins may be legitimated or made current by new coining, or addition of quantity without any alteration of the quality. But coins ἀδόκιμα for the metal, as if that be brass, copper, or silver gilt, and estamped for gold, albeit they be full weight, are by no laws current. And yet some there be (as we said) which profess the art of turning such metals into gold; but whether this be facible or no, is no point of divinity. But surely the Almighty Creator of all things hath more skill in transforming men, of what condition soever, than any alchymist hath in changing metals from worse to better. Even such as are said to be given over by him into a reprobate sense, εἰς νοῦν ἀδόκιμον, may (for aught we know) be afterwards refined by him, and become εὐδόκιμοι, justifiable men. Many of the Gentiles were delivered by him into a reprobate sense, not particular persons only, but even whole nations; and so hath the nation of the Jews for the most part been

for these many years. But that God did finally reprobate any person, whether Jew or Gentile, which lived in opposition to the Christian faith, or whether there shall not be a reversion of that curse which hath befallen the Jewish or other nation, God alone must judge and determine. So that it will be hard for any man to prove that the word ἀδόκιμος doth any where in the New Testament punctually answer unto that use or notion which custom hath now in a manner prescribed for in many theological disputes; that is, for men irreversibly fitted or designed to everlasting destruction. If in any place it were to be taken in this strict sense, I should suspect that of St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, above others; but that not from the grammatical signification of the word, or from any reference it hath in that place more than any other to false coins, but from the peculiar reference which the matter and circumstances of that place have to matters of fact or historical types in the Old Testament, without whose knowledge or observation the true meaning or importance of many words usual in the New can never be truly valued. The apostle's words in the forecited place are thus: *Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?*

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CHAP. XIX.

Of the Use of sacred or miscellane Theology, for finding out as well the literal as the mystical, or other Senses of Scripture.

WHAT shall we say then? that every one that is not certain of his own salvation, or every one not assured by faith that his name is written in the book of life, is irreversibly appointed to everlasting death, or ἀδόκιμος,

according to our apostle's meaning in this place? God forbid. No Christian man, I hope, will forbid us, or deny us leave to restrain the apostle's words, in what sense soever we take them, unto such men only as those Corinthians were; that is, to men which have been instructed in all points necessary for a Christian to believe; to men that have been baptized in this faith; to men partakers in a plentiful manner of the word preached, and of the sacraments. But may we or ought we to apply this peremptory sentence unto every man that is a visible member of the true church, or of those churches in which the pure word is constantly preached, and the sacraments duly administered? Are all these bound upon pain of reprobation to believe, either that they are already completely regenerated, or that they have so mortified the deeds of the body that they cannot die the death of the soul? If thus we should preach or teach, how should we be able to comfort afflicted consciences in their perplexed fears? and would not the best fruits of our labours be presumption in many, and despair in most of our hearers? Yet if thus we may not say, must we therefore deny, that the word ἀδόκιμος is in the forecited place to be taken in that strict sense in which it is usually taken by some modern divines, not in that place only, but in many others of the New Testament; that is, for men either irreversibly ordained to death, or finally forsaken of God? That the word is used by our apostle in this strict sense I dare not either peremptorily affirm or deny. The point more questionable, and more useful for our edification, will be to inquire what the apostle means by these words, *Know ye not that Jesus Christ is in you?* The branches of the inquiry are two; the first, what manner of Christ's being in them is here to be under-

stood; the second, what kind of knowledge they were to have of his being in them, or whether for Christ to be in them be all one as for them to be in Christ by the Spirit of regeneration and adoption; or all one as to be elected, that is, irreversibly ordained unto glory; and whether they were bound to believe all this, *certitudine fidei*, by the certainty of faith.

2. To this we answer, that neither all nor any of those points were necessarily to be believed by these Corinthians, much less by ordinary Christians at this day; albeit we grant the word *reprobates* to be taken in the strictest sense, that is, for men irreversibly fitted for destruction. For so it may be taken, and in my opinion ought to be taken in that place if in any. But so taking it we must rate our apostle's meaning in the words precedent, *Know ye not that Christ is in you*, by that peculiar reference which the present estate of those Corinthians had unto the estate of the rebellious Israelites, who after so many wonders and
647 manifest documents of God's peculiar providence over them, did tempt him, and require further signs, whether God were among them or no, Exod. xvii. 7: *And he called the name of the place Massah, and Meribah, because of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?* Unto the same height of iniquity those Pharisees were come, who after they had seen so many miracles done by our Saviour, as did fully testify that he was that very God whom their fathers had thus tempted in the wilderness, yet *came forth unto him, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him*, Mark viii. 11. And hence it was that this heavenly Physician of their souls, upon this desperate crisis, *sighed deeply in his spirit, and said, Why doth this generation seek after a sign? verily*

I say unto you, There shall be no sign given to this generation: and he left them. vv. 12, 13. Now these Corinthians, after unquestionable experiments of many miraculous effects of Christ's power wrought amongst them by the ministry of Paul, did seek after a further proof or sign of Christ's speaking in him, 2 Cor. xiii. 3; and for their satisfaction he exhorts them to examine themselves, whether Christ were not in them, not in him alone: and this they might know, unless they were ἀδόκιμοι, that is, such reprobates as the forementioned rebellious Israelites were. For it could be no other than a symptom or crisis of a reprobate mind, or of men rejected by God and left of Christ, to murmur, doubt, or question, whether the gift of tongues, of healing, and other wonderful effects of Christ's power, manifested by Paul's ministry, did not truly testify that his commission was from heaven, or that Christ was amongst them, to wit, in that church. For so the original, ἐν ὑμῖν, is in his place to be taken, as it is elsewhere in the New Testament; as when our Saviour saith to the Pharisees, Luke xvii. 21, ***The kingdom of heaven is within you***, ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, that is, the power of it is manifested amongst you: but he meant not that the kingdom of heaven was in the hearts of all them to whom he spake. And so the Septuagint (whom the evangelists and apostles follow) renders the Hebrew בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ in the forecited place, Exod. xvii. 7. not ἐντὸς ἡμῶν, but ἐν ἡμῖν, ***Is the Lord in us, or no?*** So that neither our Saviour's expression, nor that of the apostle, 2 Cor. ix., doth infer any more than we have said.

3. It is not all one for any amongst us to doubt or question whether the doctrine contained in the Apostles' Creed, or in the New Testament, be the doctrine of life and salvation, as to doubt or be un-

certain whether he himself be personally in the estate of life, or a chosen vessel. To doubt of the former general is infidelity, a sin not incident to a true Christian. But many amongst us may doubt of the latter point, and yet be as good Christians as those who think they have assurance of faith that they are predestinated, and condemn all others as reprobates in the worst sense who do not as certainly believe that they live in Christ, as that Christ died for sinners. But this was no part of our apostle's meaning in that passage to the Corinthians. The question between him and them was not about special belief of personal election, but about this general, whether he were a true apostle, or no; or, whether the miracles which had been manifested amongst them by his ministry, were wrought by the power of Christ, or no. If they continued in this doubt, or tempting of God, they would (as he forewarns them) hereby prove themselves to be ἀδόκιμοι, that is, such as the murmuring Israelites had been, or such as the present generation of the Jews for the most
648 part were, that is, cast off from being God's church or people. So that if we take the word ἀδόκιμοι in the strictest and severest sense, it rather imports a national or provincial rejection of that people from being his people, or from his residency amongst them by his public Spirit, than a personal reprobation of every particular or individual. For to pronounce thus much of every Jew that hath not adjoined himself to Christ's body, the church, since the general rejection of that nation, is beyond my commission, altogether without the precincts of this present inquisition, which was only to shew the true use of sacred philology for finding out the just extent and value of many passages, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, whose grammatical sense is for the substance usually

plain, but indeterminable for quantity, without observance of their peculiar references either to some special matter of fact recorded in scripture, or to some sacred passages more ancient.

4. What place of scripture is there less controversible for grammatical signification of the words than that of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 19—Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Τί ἔτι μέμφεται; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε; *Thou wilt say unto me, Why doth he yet find fault* or *chide? for who hath resisted his will?* To this effect an ordinary scholar in any extraordinary grammar school in this kingdom would at first sight render the original. But concerning the extent of the same words taken in this unquestionable sense, there is and hath been much controversy amongst great professors of divinity. Many extend them to reprobates in general, as if our apostle had said, 'Why doth he find fault with reprobates, seeing he hath irresistibly ordained them to destruction?' But what occasion St. Paul here had to mention God's chiding or expostulation with reprobates in general, is without my capacity to conceive. Or were it granted that τί μέμφεται, *why doth he chide*, doth refer to all this sort of men, yet would it still remain questionable, unto what time or part of time the particle ἔτι did refer; for it is an adverb of time, not to be universally taken for all successions of time, but always points at some limited portion of time. God doth not always find fault or expostulate either with all reprobates or with any one reprobate.

5. The limitation then of this speech, in respect of the person, must be taken from reference to that which the apostle had said, ver. 17: Ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου: *For this very cause have I raised thee,* or *stirred thee up, that I might shew my power in thee.* Now these words

refer to Pharaoh alone, to that Pharaoh whose heart was remarkably hardened. Nor did God at all times from his birth chide or expostulate with this very Pharaoh. The word ἔτι implies, and our apostle supposeth, that the Lord had expostulated with him before that time unto which our apostle's words in special refer. Otherwise the word ἔτι would have no place in that passage according to any grammar sense; for that is as if he had said, 'Why doth he chide or find fault with him any longer, or why doth he expostulate with him at all, after that time wherein he had said, *For this very purpose have I raised thee up*, or *kept thee alive*, (being already fitted for destruction,) *that I might shew my power in thee?*'

6. This question is very pertinently made by our apostle, seeing Pharaoh at this time was so hardened that he could not repent without some special mercy or extraordinary dispensation: for wise men only chide those of whose amendment there is some, though small
649 hope left. Unto this query our apostle frames that answer: *Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?* verse 20 unto 24. Concerning the punctual meaning of which, I have none for the present; if any other man have any desire to dispute, my advice unto him is, that he would weigh our apostle's forecited words, Τί ἔτι μέμφεται, with that speech of God to Pharaoh, unto which our apostle refers us, Exod. ix. 17: Ἔτι οὖν σὺ ἐμποιῇ τοῦ λαοῦ μου, τοῦ μὴ ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτούς; *And yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go?* And this God spake unto Pharaoh immediately after he had told him, *For this very purpose have I raised thee up;* or, (as the Septuagint and Junius,) *For this very purpose have I reserved thee alive:* with whose translation and interpretation of this place in Exodus,

I would request every ingenuous sober reader to acquaint himself, as well as with the ordinary expositors of the ninth chapter to the Romans, and not adventure to sail in a narrow uncouch and unsounded sea, only with the help of a general card, as some have done, and for want of an experienced pilot have either fallen upon dangerous rocks, or stricken upon such shelves as there is small hope of their safe arrival, without some such extraordinary mercy as St. Paul and his fellow passengers found, yet with loss of the ship wherein they sailed.

7. Divers other places of scripture there be, which (in my opinion) are usually extended beyond their native compass, though sometimes without any great danger of bad consequences, yet always with some loss of contentment to him that desires the true knowledge of the Holy Ghost's meaning in them: and thus they are overextended through want of observation unto what matters of fact or special circumstances of some peculiar times they punctually refer. Seeing the psalmist in the eighth psalm doth so magnify the goodness of God, and his special providence over mankind in general, it must needs put an observant reader of those sacred hymns to a demur, why the author of the ninetieth psalm should so pathetically complain of the shortness and misery of men's days or years. And to this demur I know not how to make any just reply, if we take the matter of his complaints to concern all men which lived either in that time or since. But if we consider that Moses the man of God was the author of that psalm, (as the inscription of it directs us to think,) and that he penned it some few years after the deliverance of God's people by him out of Egypt, the cause or occasion of the complaint is very justifiable and serious, yet peculiar to those present

times, and the people whereof he was governor. For I think it was never experienced in any age or nation besides, that of six hundred thousand living souls, and likely to live, in respect of the constitution of their bodies or any epidemical disease that then did reign, so few (males at least) should outlive threescore and ten years, and fewer fourscore. And yet of all the males which had been delivered out of Egypt, not one that was but twenty years old did live above threescore years, not one that was but thirty could live above threescore and ten, not one that was but forty (two or three only excepted) could live above fourscore years; or if some attained to that age or above it, yet their pilgrimage was to be full of sorrow, all of them (besides two or three) excluded by oath from entering into the land of their promised rest; all above twenty (besides Caleb and Joshua) were to die within forty years in the wilderness[i]; even Moses the man of God himself, who penned this psalm, was
650 prohibited to enter into the land of Canaan, and therefore had just reason to complain, as there he doth, (yet without murmuring,) not of God's disrespect unto mankind in general, but of that heavy doom which he had pronounced against all the sons of Jacob above twenty years old, of which number we cannot imagine fewer than two hundred thousand. That verse 33. of psalm lxxviii, *Therefore their days did he consume in vanity, and their years in trouble*, doth punctually refer unto that sentence denounced, Numbers xiv, against those rebellious Israelites whose carcasses fell in the wilderness, is unquestionable. Now albeit the words of this verse be not the same with those of Moses, psalm xc. 10, *Yet is their strength labour*

[i] Deut. iv. 21.

and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away, yet their signification is synonymal.

8. But this error, in stretching the native sense of scriptures beyond its proper lists or bounds, is sometimes committed by oversight, not in matters of history or morality only, but in the greatest mysteries of faith, as in that place, Jeremiah xxxi. 22: *How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter? for the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman shall compass a man* (as we usually read it). Such as acknowledge the great mystery of the woman's seed, or incarnation of the Son of God, to be included in this prophecy, extend the native signification of the word בָּאָרֶץ *in the earth,* too far. Howbeit, in this error or oversight there is no falsehood; for that the woman or female should enclose or compass the male, or that Mighty One, the second Adam, was a new thing indeed, and a wonder to all the earth. But this general truth doth not hit the punctual meaning of the Holy Ghost in that place, for the word אֶרֶץ, *earth,* is to be restrained unto the land of Ephraim, or of Israel, as it was opposed unto the land of Judah. Thus much the literal circumstance of this prophecy alone will enforce, and that prophecy of Isaiah, parallel unto this, will persuade us, Isa. xi. 13: *The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex* (or *upbraid*) *Ephraim.* The implication is, that the one kingdom was to share with the other in the fulfilling of this grand mystery, foretold by these two prophets in the forecited chapters. The kingdom of Ephraim, of which Nazareth was a limb, (though a small one,) was to be graced with the Messiah's conception and incarnation, and with the angel Gabriel's presence for the avoucher:

the kingdom of Judah (whereof Beth-lehem was a remarkable portion) was to be dignified with his birth; and that was proclaimed by an host of angels.

9. Of this mystery I have treated in other meditations[k] published some fifteen years ago, and should scarcely so much as have touched it in this place, had not some exquisite Hebricians[l], (with whose meditations I have since that time been acquainted,) without any reference to what I had then said or conceived, altogether waved or slighted the great mystery acknowledged by antiquity, as well Jewish as Christian, in this place of the prophet Jeremiah. In their opinion, the *new thing* which the Lord promised to create in the earth is no more than that the law, Deut. xxiv. 1—4, (though indispensable in respect of man and wife,) should be dispensed with or repealed as it did concern Ephraim or Israel, who had been sometimes God's spouse, but now divorced for her manifold adulteries, and yet by God's special grace had liberty to return unto him again. To this purpose I am not
651 ignorant that some later rabbins interpret this place, (as they do many other,) to elevate the mystery of the incarnation; but so do not those exquisite Christian Hebricians from whom I must crave pardon to dissent. All that they say concerning God's dispensation with that law, Deut. xxiv, is most true, but not the whole truth, nor any part of the prophet Jeremiah's true meaning in chapter xxxi. That meaning which they would fasten upon this place was expressly delivered by our prophet, chap. iii. 1, not to Ephraim, but to Judah, before she followed Ephraim into captivity; and therefore this could be no new thing to be created

[k] See Nazareth and Bethlehem, or Israel's Portion in the Son of Jesse, vol. vi. p. 91. &c. of this edition.

[l] Ainsworth upon Deuteronomy xxiv. 3.

afterwards in the land of Ephraim: *They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted? but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again, to me, saith the Lord.*

10. And however the original *bara*[m] do not always include as much as some schoolmen would appropriate to the Latin *creare*, that is, to make something of mere nothing, yet it usually imports some great work of the Almighty Maker, which one way or other is equivalent, or more than equivalent, to the first creation of heaven and earth out of nothing, if we may believe Capito and Fagius, upon whom any novice in the Hebrew tongue, or ordinary professor of it, may as safely pitch an implicit belief or trust, as upon any which have lived since their times. Again, however the prophet Jeremiah, chapter iii. 1, avouch a relaxation of that peremptory law, Deut. xxiv. 4, yet doth he not intimate, that this relaxation was such an extraordinary work, as that the Lord might be said to have *created* it as *a new thing*, whether in the land of

[m] Non extat apud nos in lingua sancta (vocabulum) quo productionem rei ex nihilo significamus nisi ברא, *bara* similiter et Rabi David Kimhi. Omnis significatio creationis est innovatio rei, et progressio ejus a non esse ad esse. Secundo, usurpat etiam scriptura *creandi* verbum, ubi aliquid non ex mero nihilo, sed ex præjacente materia; sed quod magnum, eximium præclarum, et novum quiddam sit, singulari Dei virtute, ac potentia in lucem profertur. Atque hinc est quod eo utitur, ubi cetorum, et hominis conditionem proponit. Sunt enim ceti vastæ, et portentosæ quodammodo magnitudinis. Homo ob eximias dotes omnibus creaturis præstat imo omnium creaturarum quasi caput et princeps est. Hanc quoque vim significandi, creandi verbum in Numeris habet, cap. xvi. 30. ubi de absorptione Corah, Dathan, et Abiram agitur. Ibi enim Moses sic loquitur: *Sin recens quicquam creaverit Dominus, aperuerieritque terra os suum et devoraverit eos.*—Fagius in collationem in cap. i. Gen. ac etiam in exegesi dictionum Hebraicarum in idem caput.

Judah or of Ephraim, or in the earth or wide world itself. Nor is there any other word in Jeremiah xxxi. 22. besides the word *Lord*, which is the same with any other word used either by Jeremiah, iii. 1, or Deut. xxiv. 3, 4, in both which places man and wife are described by their proper characters, אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה; nor is the wife's returning to her husband deciphered by a circular motion or compass, but by a plain return unto him. Whereas in Jeremiah xxxi. 21, the characterical notion of the persons there meant is, first, not *Ish*, an husband, or *vir*, but *Geber*, (that mighty man, or woman's seed promised Gen. iii. 15; and this *Geber*, not *Ishah*, the *wife* or woman simply, but *Nekebah*, the female, was to encompass or enclose: the original word תְּסוֹבֵב sometimes refers to motion, and is as much as the Latin *circumire* or *circumvenire, to encompass* or *go about*, which may be either by a circular or by a spherical motion. Sometimes the same word refers to *station* or *rest*, and is as much as our English, *to begirt*, or *environ*, as an army doth a besieged city, or as guests placed at a round table; and according *to* the difference of the subject, *to enclose* or *go round about*, or *to environ on every side*. And so much it imports in that name which Jeremiah gave to Pashur, the son of Immer the priest, Jer. xx. 3, 4: *The Lord hath not called thy name Pashur, but Magor-missabib. For thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will make thee a terror unto thyself, and to all thy friends: and they shall fall by the sword of their enemies, and*
652 *thine eyes shall behold it*, &c. *And thou, Pashur, and all that dwell in thine house, shall go into captivity: and thou shalt come to Babylon, and there thou shalt die, and shalt be buried there, thou, and all thy friends, to whom thou hast prophesied lies.* ver. 6. As this Pashur was every way beset with terror, so

was the Geber every way to be enclosed or encompassed by Nekebah the female. And the new thing which the Lord promised to create in the earth hath special reference to the first creation of male and female in mankind, Gen. i. 27. זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה *male and female* created he them. The original which there notifies *the female* is the very same which our English in Jeremiah xxxi. renders *woman*, that is, the weaker sex. But the original *Zakar*, rendered (Gen. i. 27.) by *the male*, is not so much as *Geber*;—for though every *Geber* be *Zakar*, yet every *Zakar* is not *Geber*, nor was the first Adam enstyled by this name. The prophet Jeremiah's meaning then was, that in this new creation in the land of Ephraim, not the male, or man only, but the mighty male, that Geber of whom Gideon and Samson were but types and shadows, was to be enclosed in the female, or weaker sex, as the first woman, or female, was in the first male. As she was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, so was this Geber to be of that female's flesh and bones which was to enclose him. And this was a work of God's creation, a new creation far surpassing the first creation, wherein the woman was made of man: for in this new creation, the Geber, the Son of God himself, was to be made man of a woman. And it is not unworthy the observant reader's consideration, that when the Lord doth as it were woo Ephraim or Israel to return again unto their own land or to *him*, he doth not entreat them as a husband doth his wife, but as a loving father doth his prodigal son, or roaming daughter, as vv. 20—22: *Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord. Set thee up waymarks, make thee high*

heaps: set thine heart toward the highway, even the way which thou wentest: turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities. How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter? for the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, (or ***in thy land,***) ***The woman shall encompass the man.***

11. Divers places there be in the New Testament which touch not upon any article in this Creed, which have tortured many good interpreters no less than some vulgar interpreters have tortured them. I shall at this time instance only in two. First in that of St. Matthew xxiii. 34—36: ***Behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men,*** &c.: ***that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.*** The reason why most interpreters of St. Matthew have wandered, as men overtaken with a thick mist upon a wild heath or forest, was because they did not consult the *Index Mercurialis* which St. Luke, from the words expressly uttered by our Saviour, had set up for their better direction. For whereas St. Matthew expresseth the *epiphonema* or conclusion of our Saviour's speech thus—***All these things shall come upon this generation,*** St. Luke, chap. xi. expresseth it—***Verily I say unto you, It shall be required of this generation.*** What was to be required of this generation? The blood of all the prophets from Abel to Zacharias, and
653 Zacharias's blood in particular. For though this present generation, by not repenting for their forefathers' sins, had made themselves guilty of the blood of all the prophets which stood upon sacred record from Abel's time unto the destruction of the temple; yet

Abel, and Zacharias the high priest, whose death was in many respects most prodigious, were the especial avengers of blood: for the blood of the one after he was dead, and the dying voice of the other, did cry to God for vengeance: for so it is recorded in 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. of Zacharias, *When he died, he said, The Lord look upon it, and require it.* Now our Saviour, in the words recorded by St. Luke, forewarns this impenitently stubborn generation, that Zacharias's dying curse, which had been through his mediation often deferred and often mitigated, should be executed upon them as an ungodly race of ungodly ancestors in a fuller measure than perhaps Zacharias intended. The exact parallel between the sins of this people in the days of Joash king of Judah, who caused Zacharias to be stoned to death in the temple, and the sins of this present generation, who put the High Priest of their souls (the Lord of glory himself) to an ignominious death—in what sense the blood of Zacharias was more required of this generation than the blood of our Saviour or of his apostles—in what manner the death of Zacharias and of our Saviour were the causes of this present generation's destruction, I have elsewhere discussed at large, and, if God permit, mean shortly to publish amongst other meditations upon our Saviour's prophetical function, or of such prophecies wherein he spake as never man spake, which were not to be fulfilled in himself, as in his death, resurrection and ascension, or coming to judgment: for all prophecies of this rank which shall come unto my memory or observation will have their fit place in these commentaries.

12. So will not that speech of his, Matt. xxiv. 28—*Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.* Yet seeing the exposition of this

place hath been omitted in the explication of some prophecies with which it hath most affinity, as with the signs of his coming to judgment, Matt. xxiv. and Mark xiii, I have thought good to say somewhat of it in this place. Most interpreters grant the speech to be proverbial, and yet (as uttered by our Saviour) to be a prophecy. The mystery foretold most of the ancients would have to be the gathering together of saints unto Christ's body at the final judgment, or at least the gathering together of those bodies which being alive shall be raught up into the air to meet him at his coming. But however the eagles (at least some kind of eagles) may be fit emblems of God's saints, yet τὸ πτῶμα, the body or carcase whereto the eagles resort, hath no handsome or comely resemblance of Christ's appearing in glory, although it were granted that his wounds or scars should then be conspicuous. I make no question but our Saviour in the forecited place did mean that kind of eagles whose properties we have described by God himself, even by this our Lord God and Redeemer, Job xxxix. 27—30: *Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place. From thence she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off. Her young ones also suck up blood: and where the slain is, there is she.* The eagle here displayed is either the vulture or of the vulture's kind, and their sagacity, whether in smelling slain bodies afar off, or
654 in presaging where great slaughters are like to happen, as also their swift resort unto the prey, is well known to secular philologers. But the flocking together of this kind of eagles doth rather menace destruction than minister any matter of comfort, according to the literal sense, either of proverbial speech or of pro-

phecy. So the prophet Habakkuk doth character the fierce and swift incursion of the Chaldeans by this kind of eagles hastening to the prey, chap. i. 8: *Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat.* And so Moses long before had threatened this people, Deut. xxviii. 49: *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle fleeth,* &c. And this prophecy was most exactly fulfilled in the conquest, oppression, and destruction of this nation by the Romans and their allies, especially the Italians, Spanish, German, and British, with other of these western nations. And our Saviour in the forecited place foretells the fulfilling of this prophecy of Moses upon the Jews of that present age: for all that our Saviour had said in Matthew xxiv. was to be accomplished (according to the literal sense) in that age current: for so he saith, verse 34, *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.* Now it is evident, that this gathering together of the eagles was to be fulfilled before those signs of his coming to judge Jerusalem were to be exhibited, verse 29. Our Saviour's prophecy then cannot (according to the literal sense) refer unto his coming to final judgment, but unto his coming to visit Jerusalem, and the nation of the Jews, of whom, as he intimates, some few should be strangely reserved, others remarkably plagued, and so to be plagued by the Romans, whose ensign was the eagle. Those whom God had forsaken, or appointed to the slaughter within that age current, were (as we say) dead in law; and whithersoever they fled, the Roman eagles, which

God had authorized to be his executioners of the heavy judgments there denounced, would be more swift than they, more sagacious than they were subtle. And albeit these wandering corps did take the temple for their sanctuary, and make Jerusalem and it the last seat of that deadly war, yet even there should these eagles or vultures be gathered against them, and teach their young ones to suck their blood. And indeed if a man would accurately observe the process and success of the war against them by the Romans, it would appear to have been begun and ended rather by such secret instinct or presage as the eagles have of great slaughters, than by rational projects or human consultation.

13. To this expression of the literal meaning of the forecited place, St. Luke directs me, who of all the three evangelists mentioneth the immediate cause or occasion of our Saviour's proverbial speech, Luke xvii. 37: *And they answered* (or *replied*) *and said unto him, Where, Lord?* The meaning of the interrogatory is, Where shall the place or seat of these strange calamities be? and to this he answers, *Wheresoever the body is, there will the eagles be gathered together.* The importance of his answer is, Whithersoever these sons of death shall repair, thither will the executioners of God's wrath be gathered together; to wit, the Romans, who should not spare such as did resist or seek to save their lives by hostility or strength, and yet be ready to spare such as would submit themselves unto their mercy. Thus much (in my
655 apprehension) was intimated, vv. 33—35, 37: *Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it. I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, the other shall be left. Two*

women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left. And they answered and said, Where, Lord? &c. This I take to be the literal meaning of this prophecy. As for the mystical, parallel to this literal, (if this afford any such,) that cannot elsewhere be so fitly handled as in the article of Christ's coming to judge the world, both quick and dead. Now according to the mystical sense, we are (I take it) to understand by *the body* the bodies of the saints deceased; and then, to make the allegory or proportion (such as the scripture always maketh) handsome and comely, the eagles must not be such as Job describeth, either vultures or of vultures' kind, but *Jovis aquilæ*, which, as philologers tell us, do not use to feed on dead corps or slain flesh. These are fit emblems of the swift ministry of the celestial angels in gathering or summoning the bodies of deceased saints from the one end of the earth to the other.

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SECTION III.

That the incarnation of God, and of God in the person of the Son enstyled ὁ Λόγος, the Word, was foretold, prefigured, &c. in the writings of Moses. Of the hypostatical union between the Son of God and seed of Abraham.

CHAP. XX.

That God, according to the literal sense of Scriptures, was in latter ages to be incarnate, and to converse with men, with the seed of Abraham especially, here on earth, after such a peculiar manner as we Christians believe Christ, God and Man, did.

THAT which in the first place we are to know concerning Christ and him crucified, is, that he was to be both God and man. And this we are to learn from the sacred oracles, whether in the literal or mystical sense, in this order: first, from such oracles as teach us that God was to be incarnate, and to converse with men, *more humano*, after an human manner here on earth; secondly, from such divine oracles as instruct us that God was to be incarnate, and thus to converse with men in the person of the Son; thirdly, from such as foretell the manner of the incarnation, and of the permanent union between the Son of God and the human nature.

2. To dispute with the Jew or other infidel who acknowledgeth the truth of the Old Testament without some manifest ground of the literal sense, were but to beat the air. For there can be no concludent allegorical or mystical sense, unless it be grounded on the literal. And of all the branches of the literal sense,

none is so evidently concludent against the Jew, the Arian, or Photinian, whether ancient or later (to wit, the Socinian), as that which for the most part is least observed, or most slenderly prosecuted by such as seek to confute the Jew, or other infidels or heretics which subscribe unto the literal sense of the Old Testament. The best topic or seat of arguments for this purpose must be borrowed from those passages in the Old Testament, which, according to the plain literal or grammatical sense, cannot, without blasphemy or literal solecism, be applied to any person but God, to any besides the God of Israel, and yet cannot be meant of God himself, (according to the punctual literal sense,) 657
save only as he was to be incarnate, or to have his conversation amongst men, after a more peculiar manner than in the ancient times of the world he had. And these places be for number many, perhaps more than all the other prophecies or predictions concerning Christ, whether literal or mystical. My purpose is not in this place to rehearse all of this kind which I have observed, but rather to explicate some few of these many.

The first shall be that, Exod. xxix. 45, 46: *And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the Lord their God.* That this place cannot be literally meant of any person, man, or angel, but of God himself, which brought Israel out of the land of Egypt, no modern Jew doth or can deny. The same promise is renewed or repeated, Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, 13: *And I will set my tabernacle among you: and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my*

people. I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you go upright.

3. God before this time had appeared unto them, had conducted them by a cloud by day, and by a pillar of fire by night, had divers ways manifested his special presence, and spoken to Moses their leader in a more familiar manner than he had done to any prophet before or since his time. Yet all those evidences of his glorious presence amongst them were but pledges of a more special manner of his future presence with them, or of walking or talking, not with some one principal man amongst them only, such as Moses was, but with all that are willing to walk and talk with him, as Moses had done with that generation. Neither of those prophecies could be exactly fulfilled, according to the punctual literal sense, of those ancient times, wherein the first tabernacle did wander with them in the wilderness, though verified according to the vulgar literal sense in those times: for God their Lord was said to remove or to arise, when the ark removed or set forward, psalm lxviii. 1. Nor were the same prophecies fulfilled in those times wherein the Lord had a permanent tabernacle, or constant place of residence amongst them in Jerusalem: albeit he was then said to dwell between the cherubims, and to have chosen Zion for his place of rest, yet Ezekiel, after the desolation of the temple projected by David, and built by Solomon, doth promise this people more than a redintegration of the temple, or any other material temple, more than a mere revival of the former promises, Exod. xxix. 45, and Levit. xxvi. 12, 13; for so the prophet astipulateth in the name of his God, chap. xxxvii. 26, 27,

28: *Moreover I will make a covenant of peace with them; and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them: yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore.*

4. But now we see, and seeing cannot but bewail, that the seed of Abraham, according to the flesh, whom this promise did (in the first place) concern, hath had no place of dwelling in the land of Canaan almost for these sixteen hundred years past; nor hath the God of Israel dwelt amongst them after such a manner as he did during the time of the first taber- 658
nacle, or whilst the first or second temple were standing. And yet this covenant was (according to the literal sense of the prophet) to be an everlasting covenant, yea, perpetually everlasting, after it once began to be *in esse;* God was to dwell with Israel, or with the sons of Abraham, there meant, without interruption in this life, and everlastingly in the life to come. Besides, this everlasting covenant was a covenant likewise of everlasting peace, to such as were partakers of it. For the peculiar manner of God's dwelling with Israel the Jew cannot imagine a more punctual fulfilling of this prophecy than the evangelist St. John hath left upon record, chap. i. 14: *And he dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.* Thus he dwelt and conversed with the children of Israel according to bodily descent, and with none else: how then is it said by the prophet that he was to dwell with them for evermore, or that this covenant of peace should be an everlasting c
nant? seeing Israel, or the sons of Jacob by b

descent, did for the most part reject this covenant, when God, for his part, was ready to seal it unto them, the Gentiles were engraffed in the believing stock, when the natural branches were broken off: and yet God still dwells *in medio Israel*, he hath his everlasting tabernacle in Israel; that is, in the seed of Abraham and of Jacob, which he assumed and did choose, not as he had done Zion or Jerusalem, but for a perpetually everlasting rest. And though this place of his rest be removed, not only from the sons of Israel, but from all the sons of men that live here on earth; yet he still dwelleth with us, who are engraffed in the stock of Abraham and of Israel, unto the end of the world, and so shall dwell with true Israelites world without end. He hath his residence in every church throughout the world, in as peculiar a manner as he sometimes did reside in the temple of Jerusalem: for wheresoever God is truly worshipped, there doth he dwell.

5. This covenant of everlasting peace which the prophet foretold, was to be established, as the first covenant was, by blood, but by far better blood than the blood of bulls and goats, by the blood of the Testator himself, that is, of God himself. *Bellum gessit, ut nos pace fruamur;* he was once for all to war with flesh and blood, with powers and principalities, that all such as embraced this covenant avouched by Ezekiel might enjoy everlasting peace, not the peace of this world, yet peace in this world, to be accomplished in the world to come. And our Saviour the Son of God, for more full declaration that he was the author of this covenant, a little before his death bequeathed the legacy of peace unto his apostles and disciples, as feoffees in trust for all that should follow the faith of Abraham: *Peace I leave with you, my*

peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. John xiv. 27. And after he had sealed this covenant with his blood, his salutation unto his disciples was, *Peace be unto you;* and, *Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world.* After his death he did walk and talk only with his disciples, but before his death he had walked, conferred, and conversed with all the children of Israel that would come unto him, in a more familiar manner than he had done with Moses himself in Egypt and in the wilderness: and though his body be removed out of their sight and ours, yet he dwelleth in his church, and walketh in it by his Spirit: *These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who* 659 *walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,* Rev. ii. 1; and xxi. 3: *And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.* God was said to walk with the children of Israel, whilst the tabernacle did remove or wander with them; but not to dwell with them, until the building of the temple: *Whereas I have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle.* 2 Sam. vii. 6. But the same God doth now walk in the church, and dwell in his church by his Spirit, and the church shall dwell with him in his heavenly temple.

6. This prophecy of Ezekiel is one of that sort and rank before rehearsed, chap. xiv. par. 6, 7; to wit, a prophecy which was oftener to be fulfilled than once, and after different measures in several times

to be fulfilled according to the ordinary scale of the literal sense, and in the intention of the Holy Ghost, at this people's return from the Babylonish captivity. From that time Judah and Israel, or Ephraim, were not to strive or contend: and thus we see it fulfilled unto the destruction of the temple. For though many of the several tribes of Israel did return to their own land successively, or now and then, yet all were enstyled or indigitated by the name of *Judæi*, or Jews, a good name, until they forfeited their interest in this promise: and God did upon their return erect his sanctuary amongst them, that is, his temple wherein he did dwell, as he formerly had done in Solomon's temple. Now this covenant, which God did promise to make with Israel and Judah, upon the delivery from the *north country, and from all the countries wherein he had scattered them*, was to exceed the former covenant, which he had made with their fathers when he brought them out of Egypt, as appeareth, Jer. xxiii. 5—8: and to exceed it, not only in respect of benefits spiritual, or the matter promised, but in respect of the very form and tenure of the covenant itself. Not that this deliverance was either in itself, or in the nation's eyes, greater than the former, but that this covenant, after it once began to be *in esse*, was to continue for ever without interruption; whereas the former covenant was broken, did expire, or determine. For during the time of the Babylonish captivity, neither Judah nor Israel had either a wandering tabernacle or standing temple; God did not dwell amongst them according to the native and literal meaning of that promise, Levit. xxvi. 12; but according to this prophecy of Ezekiel, *God, even their God, was to dwell amongst them, to have his sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.* But did this sanctuary or tabernacle there

promised continue in the midst of them since that time? Yes, it hath so continued, and shall continue for evermore, though not in the same kind, or *quoad materiam*, yet by an equivalency, or more than equivalency, or by a spiritual and supereminent manner. For when the second temple began to decay, or become as a carcass, or body without a soul, the body of our Lord and Saviour Christ, which he took from Abraham and David, became the temple of God, and continueth to this day our sanctuary, or sanctification itself. And we heathens or Gentiles do now know, that the Lord hath sanctified Israel, and that his sanctuary is in the midst of them for evermore.

7. All those places wherein God promised to be their God; all those sacred hymns and prophecies 660
which enstyle him God, even *our* God, in the exquisite or sublime literal sense, refer or drive to that point which we Christians make the foundation and roof of our faith, to wit, that he was to be *God with us*, or God in our nature or flesh, God made man of the seed or stock of Abraham, like us in all things, sin excepted. This new and glorious temple was according to strict propriety erected *in medio Israel*, or *interiore Israel*, that is, in one that was truly an Israelite, the very centre or foundation of Abraham's seed, or of Jacob's posterity: but being erected in the midst of Israel, or in the seed of Abraham after this sense, it was not erected only for the sons of Abraham, or of Israel by bodily descent, but all were to become true Israelites that should be united to this seed, and worship God in this sanctuary. For in that Christ Jesus was the Son of God, he was more truly the Israel of God than Jacob had been, and all that are engraffed into this temple of God, all that receive life from him, are more

truly the children of Israel than any of Jacob's sons were, which refuse to be united to him.

CHAP. XXI.

That this peculiar Manner of God's Presence with his People by Signs and Miracles was punctually foreprophesied by the Psalmists.

BUT for God to dwell with this people, or in the midst of them, is a phrase not unbeseeming God, even in their judgment who hold the Divine Majesty to be altogether incorporeal, immaterially immense, as many of the wiser and more sober heathens did. But in most of the prophets, in the book of Psalms especially, many characters there be of the Divine Majesty's peculiar presence in his church, with this people, or in the world, which to any heathen, either accurate philosopher or elegant poet, would seem more unseemly than a poor countryman's petition, of his own drawing and penning, to his sovereign lord, would be, or than his speech would be, if he were sent ambassador to a foreign prince. Both speech and behaviour would in this case be rustic, and his salutations such as would only befit his honest or worshipful neighbours. And thus most prophets, in the descriptions or displays of God's attributes, speak of him, if we look only in the vulgar literal sense, at the best but ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, scarce observing that decorum which an ordinary courtier would use to any greater prince. Yet may we not think that God did send such ambassadors to his people, or appoint such orators from him to them, and from them to him, as he had not enabled to speak in such manner as did become both himself and them. And surely it is the fault or imperfection, not of the psalmists or other prophets, but of their interpreters, to make them speak of God only ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, as we

do of great men. For even those speeches which seem most homely, or least observant of decorum, do fit God incarnate, or God made man, more exactly than the choicest titles that a secretary of estate could use unto a king; more accurately than a well-made garment doth the party for whom it was made, than the bark doth the tree, or the skin the body, which not 661
art, but nature hath provided for their covering. All those speeches of God which some would have to be spoken only ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, will come within this latitude. They are either spoken of God made man, or from the time of his birth unto his baptism, or whilst he was in execution of his prophetical function; or whilst he was in the form of a servant, or during the time of his consecration to his everlasting priesthood, or after he was made both Lord and Christ, that is, after his resurrection and ascension. As for those passages which concern the incarnation of God, his circumcision, or other things concerning him between his birth and his baptism, these I shall refer to these particular articles. The first instance in this kind after he was anointed to preach the gospel shall be that of the psalmist, psalm lxxxix. 8, 9: *O Lord God of hosts, who is a strong Lord like unto thee? or to thy faithfulness round about thee? Thou rulest the raging of the sea: when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.* And again, psalm cvii. 23, &c.: *They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.*

Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distress. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them to their desired haven. For majesty or beauty of speech, an heathen perhaps would be ready to compare some descriptions of Virgil, or other poet, with either or both of these passages: but this is not all, nor the principal point to be considered in the psalmist's displays of the Divine Majesty, either in these or most other psalms: for they were not only divine poets, or *vatespræteritorum*, but true prophets of things to come, and did (at least enigmatically) foretell wonders to be visibly unfolded and openly revealed in later ages. Masters and teachers they were, not only of orthodoxal doctrines, and their moral uses, but of sacred mysteries, such as none but true prophets could foretell. It was a point of vulgar catechism amongst the Jews, that unless the Lord did guide the ship, the pilot's labour was but lost; except the Lord did rule the sea, the mariner's pains were to no purpose. Every son of Jacob, according to the flesh, did know, and many of them, upon experience of his special providence over the sea, and seafaring men, would heartily acknowledge, that it was the Lord, not their skill and pains, that brought them to the haven where they would be. But whatsoever the psalmist's occasion was to pen this psalm, the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration he took occasion to pen it, by whose direction it was inserted into this sacred canon of scripture, did intend that this acknowledgment of God's experienced favours in times past or present, should be a prophecy for the direction of times to come. And however the nation of the Jews were for the most part affected, the understanding of the better

and more religious amongst this people was enlightened by the Spirit to foresee, all of them were bound to expect, the fulfilling of this prophecy, in a more distinct, remarkable, and exquisite manner than the psalmist or his forefathers had any experience of. If any man desire to know the time when, with the manner how, it was thus remarkably fulfilled, let him 662
peruse that evangelical story, Matt. viii. 23, &c.: *And when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him. And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves: but he was asleep. And his disciples came to him, and awoke him, saying, Lord, save us: we perish. And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith? Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a great calm.* Or as it is, Mark iv. 39: *And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm.* He used no ceremony, no instrument, such as Moses, Elias, or other prophets used in the miracles wrought by their ministry; but lays his command upon them, in token and testimony that he was absolute Lord of both, that very Lord of whom the psalmist had said, *Thou rulest the raging of the sea; when the waves arise thou stillest them:* that very Lord unto whom seafaring men did use to cry in their distress. There were more passengers at this time with him, spectators of the miracle, and earwitnesses of his words; for, as St. Mark tells us, *there were also with him other little ships*, ver. 36: and these other passengers, not his disciples, perhaps were those whom the same evangelist, ver. 41, saith, did *fear exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the*

sea obey him? His disciples sure at that time did apprehend him to be more than man; and though they do not express so much in words, yet by an implicit or secret instinct they acknowledge him to be that very God whom the psalmist had described; otherwise they had not presented their prayers immediately unto him in that form which St. Matthew relates—*Lord save us: we perish*—but rather thus, 'Master, pray unto thy God, or unto thy Father, that we perish not.' But he being with them, though they are not aware of his peculiar and immediate presence: so that we may conclude that all this was done and said, that the former scripture might be fulfilled; and the reason, perhaps, why he taxeth them so sharply for want of faith, was not so much for that they feared to perish in such a terrible storm, but that they did not apprehend that there was for this time no such occasion to fear, because the forecited prophecies were to be punctually fulfilled by their prayers unto him being visibly present. And for the same reason, it may be, he reproveth Peter for want of faith, when he walked towards him upon the sea: for Peter might and ought to have conceived, that his Master was that very Lord and God which stilleth the raging of the sea, and that this was the very point of time wherein that other prophecy of the psalmist, psalm lxxvii. 19, was to be remarkably fulfilled—*Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known;* and that he could conduct him as safely over the sea of Tiberias, as he led his people by the hands of Moses and Aaron through the Red sea. If we knew the times or occasions of the writing of those psalms, or what days they were appointed in the ancient church of the Jews, it would much conduce to this or the like search, how and when they were ful-

filled; it may be they were appointed to be read upon those very days wherein these miracles were done. That there was to be a second fulfilling even of those miracles which the psalmists celebrate as being done before, we gather from the prophet, Isaiah xliii. 15, 16: *I am the Lord, your Holy One, the creator of Israel, your King. Thus saith the Lord, which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty* 663 *waters,* &c. *Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new thing; now it shall spring forth; shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert.* vv. 18, 19. Now this prophecy of Isaiah was to be remarkably fulfilled when the Lord their Redeemer came to visit them.

2. Amongst other attributes of the God of Jacob mentioned by the psalmist, psalm cxlvi, these are inserted, ver. 7: *He giveth food to the hungry. The Lord looseth the prisoners: the Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down.* No child of Jacob, which had been relieved in his hunger and thirst by the hand of men, but was ready in the first place to thank the Lord God of his fathers for his bounty. They knew it was the Lord which gave men power to gather wealth, that putteth it into the hearts of the rich to relieve the poor. If the liberality of the princes and nobles at any time did abound, they knew they were almoners to the God of Jacob. If any of them being formerly (by law or authority) kept in durance were set at liberty, they were taught to thank the Lord, more than man, for their deliverance. Him they knew to be Lord of lords, to have the hearts of kings in his hands; yet all this was not the only or the principal use which the godly and learned amongst the Israel-

ites made of the psalmist's doctrine. They were taught by their fathers to expect that the Lord himself would come to feed them with his own hand, and would set prisoners free *viva voce*, with the words of his own mouth: that this Lord was to live amongst them, and to converse with them, from the greatest to the least, in more visible manner than he did with Moses on the mount or in the wilderness, at the time appointed for the exact fulfilling of this and other prophecies: *Thou openest thine hand*, (saith the psalmist,) *and satisfiest the desire of every living thing*. Psalm cxlv. 16. Now that Jesus was that Lord of whom the psalmist in these two places last cited speaketh, was fully testified by the miracles which he wrought, in feeding many thousands with some few loaves and two small fishes, and in filling so many baskets with the fragments or relics of that small provision wherewith he had filled thousands. From these miracles, the people which had seen him do them, and tasted of his bounty, did rightly infer that he was that prophet which was to come into the world, as you may read, John vi. 14; and being supposed to be that prophet, they consequently presumed that he was likewise to be the king of Israel; and out of this conceit or presumption they would have enforced him to be their king, ver. 15. But all these good prenotions of him, as their promised Messias, were drowned in their bellies, which were indeed to them their gods, and these being satisfied their religion was at an end, their zeal was come unto a period: for, as our Saviour saith, ver. 26, *they sought him, not because they saw the miracles*, (which did truly prove him to be that God which filleth all things living,) *but because they did eat of the loaves, and were filled:* and that upon condition he would so feed them with material food continually, they

would have made him king, and have enforced him to undertake this charge, as it is, ver. 15. Who the psalmist did mean by *the hungry*, in the forecited psalm, is certain; and how the Lord himself did feed them, is plain; but who are literally meant by *the prisoners*, or what prisoners Jesus during the time of his prophetical function did unloose, or set at liberty, is not so evident from the evangelical story. It is not 664
indeed at the first sight, or according to the rate of the English phrase; but the learned commentators upon the sixty-first of Isaiah have well observed, that by *prisoners*, or *men shut up*, the Hebrews usually understand *the deaf*, *the dumb*, *the blind*; and the phrase is very proper and elegant. For hearing, as the philosophers observe, being the sense of discipline by which man learns to conceive and speak; deafness, where it is natural and implanted, hath always dumbness for its consort, and is no other than a close imprisonment of the human soul: for the greatest misery of close imprisonment is, that men so imprisoned can neither open their minds to their dearest friends, nor their dearest friends open their minds to them: their souls notwithstanding are free to express their grief unto their keepers: but the souls of men whose ears have been shut up from the womb can neither receive any intelligence from others, nor give any significations of their own thoughts unto their friends, with whom they converse. Yet many souls thus shut up from the womb did Jesus during the time of his prophetical function set free by the breath of his mouth. If he said but *Ephphatha*, the prison-doors were opened, and the fetters broken; such as had been deaf and dumb from the womb had their ears unstopped, and the strings wherewith their tongues were holden presently untied.

3. But the psalmist added, *The Lord opened the eyes of the blind;* and blindness is a part likewise of the soul's imprisonment. Such as before the psalmist's time had received their sight by help of physic, or other secondary means, were said (in the language of those good times) to have their eyes opened by the Lord; because unless the Lord do bless the medicine, the physician's labour is in vain. Yet of many blind men restored to sight by miracle, or by the immediate hand of God, we read not in the Old Testament. Miracles of this kind were altogether, or for the most part, reserved till the manifestation of God incarnate, as [a]we gather out of the thirty-fifth of Isaiah. Nor could the Pharisees, though they were the greatest antiquaries amongst the Jews, disprove that blind man's testimony of whom we read, John ix. 32, although he exposed himself to great disadvantage in undertaking an universal negative: *Since the world began* (saith he) *was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind.* What then was he bound in conscience to think of Jesus, who had newly opened his eyes which had been shut up from the womb? The least he could think of him was that which in plain terms he avoucheth against the Pharisees, *If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.* But if no man, since the world began, had done the like, why should he not believe that this Jesus was more than παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, more than *a man sent from God*, even God himself? Why did he not acknowledge that the clay which Jesus made to open his eyes had been tempered by the finger of that God which had made the earth itself of nothing, *by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made?* Unto this point of belief he came by degrees; and our

[a] See the treatise of Christ's Answer to John.

Saviour from this experiment begets belief in him unto the main point of Christianity, and works his soul unto confession that he was the Son of God. *Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and when he had found him, he said* not unto him, Dost thou believe on the prophet that is to come into the world, on the Messias, or King of Israel? but, *Dost thou believ eon the Son of God? He answered and said, Who is he,* 665 *Lord, that I might believe on him? And Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he said, Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him.* John ix. 35—38. With what worship? with which they call δουλεία, or ὑπερδουλεία only? Doubtless, with that worship which was due only unto God. Thus you see, that Jesus by feeding the hungry with his own hand, by opening the ears of the deaf with the breath of his mouth, and the eyes of the blind with his finger, doth prove him to be that very Lord and God in whose praises that excellent hymn (the 146th psalm) was written, and daily sung by the Jews and Pharisees, although their eyes, because they winked with them, and hated the light, were not open to understand the meaning of it.

4. But were there no other prisoners besides the deaf and the blind which the psalmist foretells the Lord (in whose praise that psalm was conceived and sung) would unloose? no other whom Jesus during the time of his prophetical function did unloose? Sure all were prisoners that were bound by Satan; and so bound were most of these lame and diseased which our Saviour cured; more particularly that poor woman, mentioned Luke xiii. 15, 16, was Satan's prisoner, as we may gather from our Saviour's reply unto the ruler of the synagogue, whose heart was inflamed with distempered zeal and indignation as well against our

Saviour for healing, as against the people for bringing their sick to be healed upon the sabbath day: *The Lord then answered him, and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from his stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day? And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed: and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.* Luke xiii. 15—17. Not only the cure itself, but his manner of working it, manifestly witnesseth that he which wrought it was that Lord in whose praise the psalmist conceived that song. For he did not cure her as a messenger sent from God, or as a minister of delegated power or authority, but by word of majesty, as Lord and Author of the health which he bestowed upon her: *Woman,* saith he, *thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands upon her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.* Besides the exact correspondence between the psalmist's words, *The Lord raiseth up them that are bowed down,* and the evangelist's description of the party cured and the cure, as that *she was bowed together, and could in no way lift herself up;* there is another point very remarkable in the character or phrase of the evangelist: for in the beginning of this relation he saith, *When Jesus saw her, he said unto her,* (this was before she was healed,) but when he relates our Saviour's reply unto the ruler of the synagogue, (after she was healed,) he doth not say, *Jesus then answered him, and said,* but *The Lord then answered him, and said;* as if he himself had conceived, and would lead us into the same truth, that this very fact had suffi-

ciently manifested that Jesus, whom the people took for a prophet, to be that very Lord of whom that psalm was literally meant, and in whom this clause of *raising up those that were bowed down*, was at this time, and not before, punctually fulfilled.

For conclusion, I would request the reader to observe that our Saviour's answer unto John, Matt. xi. 5, hath as special and peculiar reference unto this cxlvith 666 psalm, as it hath unto those places in the xxxvth and lxist of Isaiah, which have been expounded elsewhere[a]. All three places, but the xxxvth of Isaiah and this cxlvith psalm especially, evidently prove Jesus to be not only the Messias, or him that was to come, but to be the Lord God of Jacob, whose praises this psalmist and other prophets sought to set forth.

5. The difference between the evangelist's relation and the psalmist's prediction of Christ's miracles, Matt. xi. 5, is very little, or (to speak properly) is no difference, or a difference implying such exact correspondency as is betwixt the character and the letter or impression which it makes. The verbal difference and real correspondency is this. The evangelist, from our Saviour's mouth, in the first place relates the miracles, *The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear*, &c.; and from these particulars makes up this general principle, *Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me.* The psalmist contrariwise first sets down the same principle, and afterwards foretells the miracles which were to be as so many proofs or experiments whereby this people might know the God of Jacob when he should come in person to make them happy: *Happy is he*, saith the psalmist, *that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God.*

[a] In Christ's Answer to John's Question, vol. vi. p. 301, &c.

Why are they happy which trust in him, or would not be offended in him when he came unto them? *Because he made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is: which keepeth truth for ever: which executeth judgment for the oppressed: which giveth food to the hungry. The Lord looseth the prisoners,* &c. Psalm cxlvi. 5, 6, 7.

6. The sum of all that the Jew or heathen can object against us for thus interpreting this place, or for adoring Christ Jesus whom they crucified as the very God here meant by the psalmist, must amount from that general prohibition, (as they will interpret it,) ver. 3: *Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help,* or *no salvation.* But ye Christians (will they say) put your trust in the Son of man, in the Son of Mary, a woman, and therefore transgress the psalmist's precept. But admitting these words, *Put not your trust in princes,* &c. had been expressed in this universal form, 'Put not your trust in any princes, nor in any son of man whomsoever, for there is no help in any of them,' yet such universal rules do usually admit some exception, or an exception of some principal particular. As when it is said, *He hath put all things under his feet, it is manifest,* saith the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 27, *that he is excepted who put all things under him,* though he be more than all things that are put under him. And when our apostle tells us that we must utterly renounce all works, and only rely on the mercy of God in Christ, yet the renouncing of all works (which is the greatest of all works) must be excepted from this general rule; for he that renounceth this work cannot come to Christ, cannot be partaker of God's mercy in him. And so in this general prohibition of the psalmist, *Put not your trust in princes, nor in any son of man;*

that *Son of man* must be excepted, who is also more than the son of man, more than any prince, the Son of God, the Lord God of Israel. In all other princes, besides this one Prince, who was to reign for ever, there is no help, no salvation; and because they are void of help and salvation, they are uncapable of our confidence, we may not safely repose our trust in them or upon them. But I would demand of the 667
Jew, what opinion his forefathers, in the time of Moses, Samuel, David, and the prophets, had of their expected Messias? what opinion the seed of Abraham this day living have of the Son of David whom they expect shall reign over them? Was he, in the opinion of their forefathers, to be no more than the son of man, though the son of David? If he were to be no more than so, there was no confidence, by the psalmist's rule, to be placed in him; they were not to expect help or salvation from him; he could be but another David, another Samson, another Joshua, or Moses. If he were to be but a king on earth, as many others have been before him, though all others, though put together, of much less power than they expect he shall be, yet their expectation of him is fuller fraught with revenge and malice towards others, than with hope of any great good unto themselves, if so he were to be but a mighty prince or monarch, not truly God, or if his kingdom were but of this world, or to be bounded within the sphere of the moon; for so he might bruise and crush the nations, as Joshua the Canaanites, or David his enemies; he could not make all his own followers kings and monarchs. Nor could monarchies or kingdoms make them happy on whom he did bestow them; there could be no help or salvation general either in prince or subject. The more bountiful he were in bestowing temporal blessings,

wealth, power, or honour, upon the seed of Abraham after the flesh, the greater calamity he should bring upon other nations. How then could he be that promised seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed? Finally, if the ancient Jews (as I think these modern Jews will not deny) expected help and salvation from their Messias, if they taught their posterity to put trust in this promised seed of Abraham, whensoever he should be revealed, then it is concluded that their expected Messias was to be that God of Israel whom the psalmist in the cxlvith psalm describeth. And this is the fundamental article of Christian faith, unto the acknowledgment whereof this Lord God of Israel in his good time bring the seed of Abraham after the flesh, and all others which either deny it or are ignorant of it.

CHAP. XXII.

That the God of Israel was to become a Servant, and a Subject to human Infirmities, was foretold by the Prophets, according to the strictest literal Sense.

THOUGH all these prophecies were punctually fulfilled (according to the strict propriety of the literal sense) of God incarnate, or whilst he conversed with men here on earth in the form of a servant, which is somewhat more than the form and essence of a man; yet other prophecies there be which more punctually refer unto this estate in particular, and unto those grievances which it was impossible for him that was truly God to suffer, unjust for any man to suffer, who was not by estate and condition a true servant in the strictest sense of this word. Now we read that when Jesus had said to one sick of the palsy, *Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee; the Scribes and*

Pharisees (who were then present) *began to reason, saying, Who is this that speaketh blasphemy? Who* 668
can forgive sins, but God alone? Luke v. 20, 21. And for thus censuring his speech, they presume they had the warrant of God himself, Isaiah xliii. 25; *I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will remember thy sins no more.* It was most true what from this place they collect, to wit, that God alone could forgive sins. But from the present miracle, and the manner of our Saviour's conversation with them here on earth, and their most wicked dealing with him, (had they compared these with the words immediately precedent in the prophet,) it had been easy for them to have gathered that he was that only God which did forgive sins: for so the prophet had said to this people in the person of his only God, *Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thy iniquities.* This in particular is one of those many places which even by the Jews' confession could be literally meant of none but God himself, and yet could never be literally and punctually fulfilled or verified but of God incarnate. For this people did never make God to serve under their sins, he was never wearied with their iniquities, save only whilst he took the *form* of a servant upon him, and did bear their sins in the substance of their flesh.

2. Of the same observation is that other place, Isaiah lxiii. 9, 10: *In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them.* And so it is said, *that he was grieved forty*

years with that generation which he had delivered out of Egypt. And both places, were they to be limited only with reference to times past, could not be meant of God otherwise than ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, or in a metaphorical sense. But as well that complaint of the psalmist as this of the prophet Isaiah were not merely historical, but prophetical, both to be fulfilled after a more exquisite sense in later ages. For all God's mercies and lovingkindness to their fathers were but as pledges or talents given by way of earnest for greater goodness and more tender mercies towards later generations, so they would be thankful for the former. God, whilst he was only in the form of God, could not in strict propriety of speech be *troubled*, could not be *grieved* with compassion, could not be *wearied*. All those are passions, or accidental affections, incident only to flesh and blood, or at least to natures subject to servitude and punishment. But of God in our nature and form of a servant all these pathetical complaints were most exactly accomplished. Who was weak amongst his people, and he not weakened by their weakness? who amongst them did mourn, and he not mourn with them? who was afflicted in body or soul, and he not partaker of their afflictions? Of all those duties of Christian charity, or fellow-feeling of others' infirmities, practised by his apostles, and commended to us by them, he by his practice and conversation set the most exquisite pattern, more exquisite than any who was but man could have set. For he was a man of sorrows and infirmities to bear all our grievances. He cured no bodily infirmity (though he cured many) whose grief (until the cure was wrought) he did not suffer by exact and perfect sympathy. And only by the anguish of his soul and spirit, not Israel alone, but all people through-

out the world, whoever found or hope to find any, must find rest and comfort to their souls and con- 669
sciences. Yet all this the wicked posterity of that wicked generation (whose ingratitude towards the God of their fathers did minister both matter of complaint and of prophecy to the prophet Isaiah and the psalmist) no way regarded, but requited all the pains, trouble, and affliction, which he had undertaken for their poor brethren's bodily good, and the comfort of all their souls, with superaddition of those deadly griefs and sorrows, which by the Romans' help they brought upon him. This God of Israel in former times had fought for them, and had conducted them in the form of an angel, Joshua himself being but his deputy or under commander. But now that they have thus ungratefully requited him for all his lovingkindness towards their fathers whilst he was only in the form of God, or did appear in the garb or figure, not in the substance of an angel, and for all the troubles and grievances undertaken by him for their good whilst he was in the substance of man and form of a servant, he at length became their enemy and fought against them. For as visitors, though far absent, do yet visit by their commissaries, so this God of Israel, that Jesus whom the Jews had crucified being made King of kings and Lord of lords, did judge Jerusalem and the nation of the Jews by Vespasian and Titus, as by his deputies. It was he, not they, that in that great war did overcome them. As they had grieved him more than their forefathers had done, with whom he was grieved forty years in the wilderness, so they did remain in the land of their promised rest but forty years after his death, and so they remained in far worse case than their forefathers had done in the wilderness: and their posterity since have wandered

throughout the world as unwelcome guests for almost these sixteen hundred years.

CHAP. XXIII.

That God was to visit his Temple after such a visible and personal Manner as the Prophet Jeremiah in his Name had done.

THE modern Jew cannot deny that of the prophet Jeremiah, chap. vii. 3, 4, &c. to be meant of God alone; nor is he able to shew us how it was or could be otherwise fulfilled than of God incarnate, or of God in the visible nature and substance of man coming to visit his temple: *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, are these.* And again, ver. 8: *Behold, ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye know not; and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations? Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold, even I have seen it, saith the Lord.* To have denied, that God at this time did truly hear what this people said, did truly see what
670 they did, did perfectly understand their secret thoughts, had been an error much grosser and more dangerous than the error of the Anthropomorphitæ, that is, of such as imagined God by nature to have eyes, ears, and heart, like man: for that was but an heresy, or transformation of the Deity; the other was Epicurism, the worst and grossest error wherewith the

very heathen or infidels were possessed. And so the psalmist describeth it, psalm xciv. 7: *Yet they say, The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. Understand, ye brutish among the people; and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see?* &c.

2. Sight and hearing were in those times as truly attributed to God as now they can be, yet in a general or transcendent, not so exquisite, so proper and formal a sense, as the pathetical expression which the prophet there used doth literally imply: *Behold, even I have seen it, saith the Lord:* for certainly that implies a great deal more than by ordinary catechisms or domestic instructions they could have learned; thus much at the least, that the Lord God himself, who sent the prophet to deliver this message, the Lord God of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, would watch his opportunity, unless they did amend these misdemeanours, to visit them and his temple, not by a prophet or deputed commissary, but in person, and after as evident and visible a manner to flesh and blood as the prophet had done, but with far greater power. The prophet had only mere spiritual power to protest against them, no coercive authority to punish the delinquents, or to banish these abuses out of the temple: this case was reserved unto the Lord himself, and was put in execution by him oftener than once, as I take it, at two several passovers. For so we read, John ii. 13, &c.: *And the Jews' Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and*

poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables; and said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise. This was done, I take it, at the first passover after his baptism; but he exercised the same power with greater authority at his last coming to Jerusalem in triumph; so we read, Matt. xxi. 12, 13: *And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves, and said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.* It is to me remarkable, that this evangelist saith he *went into the temple of God:* and yet when he relates the very words which he then used, he saith not, as in the former place of St. John he did, *It is written, My Father's house shall be called an house of prayer,* but *My house shall be called the house of prayer; yet ye have made it a den of thieves.* And both St. Mark and St. Luke retain the very same character of speech: *Jesus,* saith he, *went into the temple,* &c. *and would not suffer that any man should carry any vessel through the temple* (an abuse for which Jeremiah had denounced God's judgment against their forefathers). *And he taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of*
671 *thieves,* &c. Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. The like is Luke xix. 46. Both by his speech, and by the extraordinary exercise of his more than royal authority, he gave them evidently to understand, so they would have been taught by him, that he was that very Lord, that very God of Israel, unto whom that house had been dedicated, that Lord which had sent his prophet Jere-

miah to dehort their forefathers from polluting the temple, as now their posterity do. And if we consider the usual condition, or stubborn temper of church-trading men, and the strong back which long continuance of this plausible custom of making provision for sacrifices in the temple had given unto that sharp edge, which the opportunity of this great and solemn feast had set upon their wonted desires of gain; it is not imaginable, that so many men would so quickly have quit their seats of merchandise for the lash of one man's hand, unless it had been withal the very hand of God; not credible, that all the eyes in the world besides could have blenched them in their wonted course, unless they had been eyed and looked upon by the very eyes of God himself, of that God who was chief Lord of the temple: for so the eyes of Christ, as we Christians believe and know, were as truly the eyes of God, as the prophet Jeremiah's eyes were his own, and that whilst he saw and looked upon those abuses of the temple with human eyes, yet he saw them with the eyes of God in as strict and exquisite a sense as Jeremiah had seen them with the eyes of man.

3. The contents of this text are a prediction, or presignification, of that rank and nature, which hath been before deciphered in the general, that is, a prediction typically prophetical; such as that of the psalmist, *The stone which the builders refused is become the chief stone in the corner;* or that which in the literal or historical sense did respect the paschal lamb—*Not a bone of it shall be broken:* for the prophet Jeremiah did by express words foretell, and by matter of fact foreshadow, that which afterwards was most exactly accomplished. He was persecuted by that generation wherein he lived for the delivery of that message, chap. vii. 12, 13, 14: *But go ye now unto my place*

which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. And now, because ye have done all these works, saith the Lord, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not; therefore will I do unto this house, which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh. The same message was delivered by him, many years after this time, by the express commandment of the Lord, chap. xxvi. 4, 5, 6: *And thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord; If ye will not hearken to me, to walk in my law, which I have set before you, to hearken to the words of my servants the prophets, whom I sent unto you, both rising up early, and sending them, but ye have not hearkened; then will I make this house like Shiloh, and will make this city a curse to all the nations of the earth.* His persecution for this delivery of his message from the Lord is upon sacred record, vv. 8, 9: *Now it came to pass, when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking all that the Lord had commanded him to speak unto all the people, that the priests and the prophets and all the people took him, saying, Thou shalt surely die. Why hast thou prophesied in the name of the Lord, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh,* &c. The last generation of the Jews, with whom our Saviour conversed in as visible and familiar manner as Jeremiah
672 had done with their forefathers, did charge him first, and afterwards his martyr St. Stephen, with capital blasphemy, for saying, the temple then standing should be destroyed. The accusation of our Saviour for these words (conceived to be uttered by him) you have, Matt. xxvi. 60, 61: *Yea, though many false witnesses*

came, yet found they none. At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. Or, as St. Mark hath the same accusation, chap. xiv. 57, 58, 59: *And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands. But neither so did their witness agree together.* If they had agreed, or come home to the interrogatories proposed, he had died (if they had had the power of death) for saying the very same words in effect for which their forefathers threatened Jeremiah with death. The same practice you have reitered against St. Stephen, Acts vi. 12, 13: *And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the Scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the council, and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.* Whether St. Stephen said thus or no, I will not dispute; but most probable it is, that he did never say this in express terms, because the text saith, *They set up false witnesses against him.* However, these false witnesses against St. Stephen did truly prophesy, as Caiaphas did: for Jesus being made Christ did destroy the temple by the Romans, and abrogated the ceremonies given by Moses, because they had made up the measure of their forefathers' sins, who persecuted Jeremiah for saying no more in effect than they laid to St. Stephen's charge. And that which Jeremiah threatened was in part fulfilled, not long after his persecution and imprisonment:

for Zion became like Shiloh, a desolate place, and forsaken of God for a long time, yet reedified again within the age or generation then living: so was not Shiloh until this day. Nor hath Jerusalem or Zion been restored, since they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, when he came to visit his temple, as Jeremiah had done, and to be anointed King over Zion.

4. All that I have to add unto the former testimony, Jer. vii, is this, that our Saviour, at this time of his consecration, or whilst he was a king or priest *in fieri* only, did give some documents of his royal power, or just challenge to his right over Judah and Jerusalem, in a more special manner than at any time before he had done. For we do not read that he did take upon him to judge between party and party in matters temporal, nor to dispose of the goods or possessions whether of Jews or of Gentiles, save once, when he gave the legion of devils leave to enter into the herd of swine, and to carry them headlong into the sea. And this he did immediately after he had manifested himself to be God by commanding the wind and the water, as was before declared. Before this time he might have said, more truly than Samuel did, *Whose ox or ass have I taken?* Yet now when he came to visit his temple, he gave his disciples commission more than royal to take an ass and her colt for service, to ride on them in triumph (as the prophet Zechariah had foretold) unto Jerusalem and to Zion. And this he
673 did, *jure domini*, by right of dominion. The tenor of the commission, and the execution of it, you have distinctly set down, Matt. xxi. 1, 2, 3: *And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass*

tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them. And St. Mark tells us, chap. xi. 5: *And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt? And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded: and they let them go.*

5. This manner of his coming to Jerusalem, his powerful visitation of the temple immediately upon it, and the inscription which Pilate made on his cross some four days after, with other remarkable circumstances of the story or journal of that sacred week, be a pregnant testimony that this Jesus of Nazareth, whom we adore, was that King of the Jews and of Zion whose coming Zechariah had so long before foretold: but it is not so apparent out of his forecited prophecy, either that this King of Zion was the God of Zion, or that the God of Zion and of Israel was to be made King of both: for in that he was God, he was the King, not of Israel or Judah only, but of all the earth, God over all from everlasting to everlasting by right of creation. The next point then in question betwixt the Jew and us is this; Whether it may be concludently proved from the literal sense of those oracles which they adore, that he, who was the God of Zion and of Israel from everlasting to everlasting, were to be made King of Zion in later times, or after the gift of prophecy did cease in Judæa and Jerusalem?

CHAP. XXIV.

That the God of Israel was to be made King, and to reign, not over Israel only, but over the Nations in a more peculiar Manner than in former Ages he had done.

WERE there no other part or volume of the Old

Testament left besides the book of Psalms, the testimonies contained in it, which according to the literal sense will abundantly induce this conclusion, are for number more, and more punctual, than all the testimonies which the Jew can bring out of all other scriptures, that they were to have a Messias, or Son of David, whose throne was to be exalted above the throne of David or of Solomon. Or if this book of Psalms were the only book whereby both Jews and Christians were to be regulated in points of faith, this book alone would condemn both of such folly and sluggishness of heart as Christ our God and Saviour upbraideth those two disciples with, Luke xxiv. 26, 27: *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them, in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself.* He did then enter into his glory when he was made a King of glory; and such a King he was not made until he had
674 endured a harder servitude, or condition of life more miserable to flesh and blood, than Israel had done in Egypt, or than any of the prophets, whether psalmists or others, had undergone. Of this servitude, or hard condition of life, which was prefigured by matter of fact in most of his prophets and in all those psalmists, and foretold in all those psalms which contain matter of complaint or imploration of release from oppression, in its proper place. We are now briefly to peruse some of those psalms which according to the literal sense imply the exaltation of the God of Israel, or of Zion, to be the King of Israel, or of Zion: and for this view it would much avail if we knew who were the authors of such psalms, and upon what occasion they were penned.

2. The author of the viith psalm was David him-

self, and no other, as the inscription and occasion of his complaints therein mentioned do manifest. The complaints he tenders immediately unto God; and yet this God who was to be awaked was to return to his throne on high: *Arise, O Lord,* (saith he, vv. 6, 7, 8,) *in thine anger, lift up thyself because of the rage of mine enemies: and awake for me to the judgment that thou hast commanded. So shall the congregation of the people compass thee about: for their sakes therefore return thou on high. The Lord shall judge the people: judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according to mine integrity that is in me.* He that is to arise, was certainly laid down; and he that is to awake, was for the time asleep; and he that was to return on high, was questionless descended from the highness of his throne. Nor are these speeches to be considered ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, more than that judgment of the people which he implores of God. I dare not affirm that the xlviith psalm was penned or conceived by David himself, yet authentic and canonical among the Jews. Now the whole current of that psalm contains a general acclamation, or gratulatory hymn of God the Lord, who was to be made King: *O clap your hands, all ye people; shout unto God with the voice of triumph. For the Lord most high is terrible; he is a great King over all the earth. He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet. He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved.* Some passages in this psalm had their literal verification in the practice of this people at such solemn feasts as this psalm was appointed to be sung; for they did then exhibit such joyful acclamations as are here charactered, and exalt the name of the Lord by hymns of praise and thanksgiving. But both songs

and ditties, the gestures both of priests and people which sung them, did foresignify matter of more universal triumphant joy, to be communicated to all nations, when God should become such a gracious King over them, as he had been over the seed of Abraham, vv. 7, 8: *For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding. God reigneth over the heathen: God sitteth upon the throne of his holiness.* Was it the chief matter of this public joy, that God should subdue the nations under the feet of Jacob's posterity? This had been rather cause of sorrow to the heathen nations, than any just cause of comfort to the Jew, if these words (according to the literal) did import a temporal or civil subjection of the nations by conquest of sword. Nor doth the original word import any such thing, but a voluntary subjection or submission wrought by fair and gentle persuasion. And by the unquestionable meaning of the very letter, the nations were to rejoice in that they were to be thus subdued, not to the whole nation of the Jews, but to the inheritance which God had chosen for them, or to the excellency of Jacob whom he loved. And these (as Theodoret rightly observes) were the apostles and disciples whom God had chosen out of the Jewish nation. These indeed have brought, not our bodies, but our souls and consciences under subjection to the yoke of Christ, who was the God whom the psalmist there foreprophesied should be very highly exalted, not by ascending of the ark into mount Zion, nor by propagation of his kingdom, or gaining a greater multitude of subjects here on earth than he had whilst the Jews only were his chosen people, but by erecting a new throne and kingdom in the highest heavens, where now he dwelleth, and executeth the royal judicature, which he before did in

the tabernacle or in the temple; there he had a visible throne and a visible mercy seat, but there his presence was not always visible, nor visible at any time but in type or figure. And if we may believe the latter Jewish doctors, when they speak unwittingly for us against themselves, that solemn festival wherein this triumphant song was publicly sung was first instituted, and afterwards continued, as an anniversary memorial of the dedication of the temple, [a] or for bringing the ark into it; and that was as much as the enthronization of the God of Israel as peculiar King and Lord of Zion. But they themselves do grant that this very psalm was not only a triumphal memorial of what was past, but withal prophetical, and to be fulfilled in the days of their expected Messias. And so we Christians see it now exactly fulfilled, according both to the mystical and to the punctual literal sense, in Christ Jesus their Messias (though they acknowledge him not) now sitting at the right hand of God, and designed to be the supreme Judge, not of the Jews only, but of all the world, of quick and dead.

3. That the God of Israel was to become King of all the world, to be crowned with majesty and glory, was to judge the world after another manner than from the beginning of it, or at that time when these late cited hymns were consecrated to his praise had been experienced, many other psalms do so punctually import, that without this supposition, or this interpretation of them, they can have neither any true literal meaning, nor contain any remarkable truth worthy the note of *Selah*, which is often inserted in psalms of this kind: *The Lord* (saith the author of the xciiid psalm) *reigneth, he is clothed with majesty;*

[a] Vide Mollerum in argumentum hujus psalmi.

the Lord is clothed with strength, wherewith he hath girded himself: he was to be thus clothed, thus girded with strength, not as God, but as King: *the world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved. Thy throne is established* מֵאָז, *of old, a tunc,* 'from then,' that is, from the time wherein he was thus to reign, and thus to be clothed with *majesty.* And by this establishing of his throne the world was to be established after another manner than it had been. He himself indeed (as it followeth in the same verse) was from eternity: so was not the throne or kingdom which the psalmist there doth not only describe but prophesy of; his throne is an everlasting throne, yet everlasting (as we say) *a parte post,* from the time it was established, not from eternity: and so is the kingdom here meant. And psalm xcvi. 10—13: *Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth: the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved: he shall judge the people righteously. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar,* 676 *and the fulness thereof. Let the fields be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the Lord: for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth.* All these are characters of times future; and that joyfulness *of the fields, and all that is in them,* &c., which the prophet mentions, is (I take it) no other than the fulfilling or satisfying of *the earnest expectation of the creature, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God,* Romans viii. 19.

That of the psalmist, ps. xcvii. 1, falls under the same line of observation: *The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of the isles rejoice.* This literally implies, that the earth, whether generally

taken or restrained to the land of Jewry, should have better cause to rejoice, and the multitude of the isles new occasions of greater gladness, than in former times they had known. When then was this new matter of joy and gladness, there promised to all the earth and her inhabitants, to begin to bear date, or be *in esse?* From that point of time wherein the Lord began to reign after another manner than before he had done. The reign of the Lord over all the earth, and over all the islands of the earth, (if we consider him only as God,) was from the beginning of the world, and so shall continue without change or alteration world without end. The reign of the Lord then, in this place foretold, must be the reign of God incarnate, or of God's being made King. And those holy men of God which thus speak did by the spirit of prophecy foresee those days which Abraham saw, and rejoiced to see. Now the beginning of these joyful days was from the time wherein the Lord did *loose the prisoners, did deal his bread unto the hungry, did open the eyes of the blind, and raised them that were bowed down,* with his own hands, or with his own voice. For so the author of the cxlvith psalm (a little before paraphrased) doth conclude that admirable ἐπινίκιον, or triumphant song of the God of Israel: *The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations.* All the former works of mercy and piety towards miserable men were but *præludia,* or portending documents of his future reign or œcumenical kingdom shortly after to be established.

CHAP. XXV.

That the former Testimonies do concludently infer a Plurality of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead: and that God in the Person of the Son was to be incarnate, and to be made Lord and King.

BUT if the Lord God of Israel were to serve under the sins of this people, or to be made a servant for their sins; if he were to be anointed King, not over them only, but over all the earth besides; it will be demanded, unto whom he was to be a servant, and who (after this his service) was to make or crown him King? Surely, being God, he was not to be a servant unto man or angel: if he that was God must be a servant, he must be a servant to him who is and truly was God. If he that was truly God were to be anointed
677 King, and to be enthronized, he must be anointed by him alone who was as truly God. These considerations enforce us, and when God shall give them hearts to take these and the like into serious consideration, will persuade the Jews, that however the God of Israel be one, yet in this unity of the Godhead, or Divine Majesty, they and we must acknowledge more than an unity or identity of Persons. What it is to be a person, and what manner of distinction is between the Persons in the blessed Trinity, are points which I never had mind to dispute *more scholarum*, since I first knew the schools, or bent my studies to know Christ, but was always ready to admire what I knew not to express.

Nor could I ever well understand the language of such as thought themselves able to instamp these high mysteries with scholastic forms of words, but have taken more delight and comfort for these thirty years and more in rehearsing daily (as I am bound by oath

evening and morning) the collect appointed by our church for Trinity Sunday, with the hymn annexed unto it in the ancient liturgies, than in all the variety, whether of schoolmen, or of such polite writers as seek to adorn and beautify their ruder expressions of this great mystery. And I have engaged[b] myself not to meddle with this point until (by God's assistance) I have finished the rest of these comments, and then by way of meditation or devotions only. Thus much, notwithstanding, the former considerations and the very fundamental grounds of true Christianity enforce us to grant, that in the Divine nature, though most indivisibly one, there is an eminent ideal pattern of such a distinction as we call between party and party; a capacity to give, and a capacity to receive; a capacity to demand, and a capacity to satisfy: capacities sufficiently different for the exercise of justice and love, not *ad extra* only, but within the Divine nature itself. If there were but one *party* or *person* in the Divine nature, the remission of men's sins without satisfaction had been more proper and pertinent than remitting of them upon satisfaction. For one and the selfsame party to demand satisfaction of himself, and to make it to himself, (especially by way of punishment or disgraceful affliction,) is so unconceivable to reason itself, that it is altogether uncapable of admiration to reason sanctified or enlightened by grace.

2. But this is that which some modern heretics labour to prove; to wit, That God did not exact satisfaction for our sins of our Saviour Christ Jesus; that it had been exact cruelty in God to have laid the burden of all our sins upon him who knew no sin. But how then is Christ said to have taken away our sins? God (say these men) did freely remit them with-

[b] In the preface to the treatise of the Catholic Church.

out satisfaction, and Christ did take them away by setting us a pattern of holiness, and of patience in affliction; that is, in such sort as a physician might be said to have taken away an epidemical disease by prescribing a recipe, which every one after might make for himself, and be his own apothecary. Briefly, they think that God cannot be excused from cruelty, but by denying all true and proper satisfaction made to him by Christ. But it is an oversight usually incident to men enclouded in grosser errors, to object that unto their adversaries as an inconvenience or absurd consequence, which is such only according to the objector's own tenets, but most true and consonant to their principles whom they oppugn, if these might
678 be taken into due consideration. Thus some great clerks in the Romish church (but none of their wisest men) object against us, that we make God a tyrant by teaching that he hath given us a law which is impossible for us to fulfil. The objection is unanswerable according to their principles, who teach that a man cannot be justified or absolved from the sentence of death denounced by the law without perfect inherent righteousness, or fulfilling of the law; but the same objection no way toucheth us, who teach, that albeit we must still be doing that which is good, yet after we have done all we can, (suppose much better than either they or we do,) we must still deny ourselves, and renounce, not the works which we have not done, but the good works we have done, and wholly rely upon the mercies of God in Christ, who once for all suffered for our sins, and daily absolves us from them, so oft as in sincerity of heart we confess our sins, and implore his propitiation for them. Unless we knew the fulfilling of the law, whether by habitual or actual righteousness, or by doing those things which we

ought to do, or leaving those things undone which we ought not to do, to be impossible for us in this life, our reliance on God in Christ could not be so firm, or so perpetually constant, as the doctrine of our church (so it be rightly embraced) will make it.

3. The Socinians wander in the like but much grosser mist of errors, wounding one another whilst they shoot at us, who are sufficiently armed against their poisoned arrows by the armour of God on the right hand and on the left, to wit, the distinction of Persons in the blessed Trinity. Indeed, were there but one party or capacity in the Divine nature, which were the only party or person offended, their arguments for remission of sins after their way would conclude against us, who press a necessity or convenience of satisfaction unto God. But their strongest arguments fall either wide or short of all such as maintain this distinction of parties or persons in the Divine nature. For if the Son of God, or ὁ Λόγος, were truly God from eternity, and remained God after man did make himself the servant of Satan, he might, without wrong to any man, to any party, without wrong to himself, (for *volenti non fit injuria,*) voluntarily take the *form* of a servant upon him, and in that *form*, or low condition of man, make *perfect* satisfaction, *per translationem pœnæ*, "for all our debts, for all our sins," and, our debts being fully paid, restore us to the liberty and privilege of the sons of God. He both might and did truly purchase that peculiar dominion over us which he hath over all men, an absolute dominion of punishing all God's ungracious, and of crowning all his thankful and faithful servants. This dominion, as it is peculiar to Christ, was purchased by true and real satisfaction made unto God.

4. But what it was for Christ, the Son of God, to take upon him the *form* of a servant, or wherein this condition or *form* of a servant did properly consist, are points which neither the Arian nor the Socinian did ever take into serious consideration. If the Socinian would yet do so, he might clearly see that his former objections could not reach us, but must rebound upon himself. For the Man Christ Jesus being so just a man as we believe and he grants he was, unless he had been more than man, truly God, and truly a servant withal, it could not have stood with the goodness of God, nor with any rule of justice, divine or human, either to have punished him for our sakes, as we say God did, or to have suffered him to undergo
679 such hard and cruel usage at the hands of wicked and sinful men, as the Socinians confess he did undergo without murmuring or complaint. But this is a point which cannot be orderly handled until we come to the death and passion of our Lord and Saviour, which was the ἀκμὴ, or period (rather), of his servitude, or of being in the form of a servant, which was the basis of his humiliation. And albeit I purpose not in that place to dispute whether God could possibly have freely remitted our sins without any satisfaction, (a question to which no wise men will take upon them to give a peremptory answer, whether negative or affirmative,) yet I shall, by God's assistance, there make it clear, that no other means or manner of remitting our sins, of absolving or justifying us, or of bringing us to glory, which either the Socinian or the wit of man can imagine, could have been so admirable to sober capacities, as that way and manner which the scripture plainly teacheth; and that in brief is this:

5. The Divine nature, in the person of the Father, requires satisfaction for the transgressions of man

against the eternal law and unchangeable rule of goodness, or those positive laws which he had given in special to man. The same Divine nature, in the person of the Son, undertook to make satisfaction for us, in taking our nature upon him, and *He* having, by right of consanguinity, the authority and power of redeeming us, the same Divine nature, in the person of the Holy Ghost, doth approve and seal this happy and ever blessed compromise. This ineffable accord between the Divine Persons in the unity of the Godhead concerning the great work of man's redemption, is most exactly parallel to that accord which some of the ancient have excellently observed betwixt them in that work of creation, as hath been before expressed in that article. Not to repeat, nor to add to that which was there delivered, but to continue these present discussions concerning the eternity and person of the Son of God.

6. Some there have been, and are, who, granting all that we have said, or can desire to be granted, concerning the incarnation of God, or trinity of Persons in the unity of the Godhead, further demand why God, rather in the person of the Son than in the person of the Father or of the Holy Ghost, should be incarnate or made flesh? But might not these men (some perhaps will say) as well have demanded why God, the Father did make the world rather by the Son than by himself or by the Holy Ghost? or why this title of *Him by whom all things were made* should be peculiar to God the Son? And to this question it would be a satisfactory answer to say, that we must believe that the world was so made because the scripture, which is the only rule and guide of faith, doth so instruct us; or because the Persons of the blessed Trinity (for reasons best known unto themselves alone)

would have it to be so, and so to be written. But many arguments there be well observed by the ancient, and better explicated by modern divines, (some of whose works are extant in print, others worthy of the press,) unto which I shall be as far from adding as from detracting. These reasons alone abundantly satisfy all the desires which I ever had to be informed in this point: first, seeing the blessed Trinity was pleased to have satisfaction made for the sins of mankind, and by this satisfaction to exhibit an exquisite pattern of justice and equity; secondly, seeing man's sin did especially consist in rebellion, the satisfaction was (according to the rule or pattern of equity and
680 justice) to be made by most exquisite obedience. Now the most exquisite obedience that can be performed is from a son unto his father, or from a servant unto his lord. Hence it pleased the Eternal Wisdom, and Son of God, to take, not the nature of man only, but the *form* of a servant (for a while) upon him, to make the most perfect and abundant satisfaction by the most exquisite obedience of which both the state of a son and condition of a servant was capable.

7. The stone of offence whereat the Socinians (who account themselves good Christians, and do not deny Christ to be the Son of God) do so much stumble, is in part the very same with the prejudice which the Arians had of the orthodoxal truth, whose breach or disruption in the canon of the ancient catholic faith the first Nicene council sought to repair, not by addition or superstruction of any new articles of belief, but by a gentle diduction or dilatation of that sense which was included in the apostles' creed, or in the ancient rule of faith: "I believe in one God &c., and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds;" and again, "Very God of

very God, begotten, not made, being of the same substance with the Father," &c. It is not improbable that the Arians and their followers might take offence or pick a quarrel at this title, of being 'the only begotten Son of God before all worlds,' the rather, because some of the most ancient, and not a few middle-age writers, do seek to ground this article upon that divine oracle, ps. ii. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee:* as if *hodie* in that place did not literally and punctually refer to any peremptory day or time circumscriptible by remarkable circumstances or notable historical events, but were put for *hodie æternitatis*, which implies no time, but an indivisible interminable duration. And if the allegation were true in this sense, there could be no question between professors of Christianity about the eternal generation of Jesus Christ, as he is the Son of God. But so it often falls out, that some one impertinent allegation or weak proof being too much stood upon, doth provoke or embolden such men, *qui ita veritatem amant, ut velint esse vera quæcunque amant*, to deny the general truth for whose confirmation weak and impertinent proofs are brought, albeit the same truth might be most strongly proved from many other irrefragable testimonies of scripture. That the psalmist, psalm ii, speaks of our Saviour's resurrection from the grave, is most clear from the apostle's testimony: and in what sense it was fulfilled, whether in the literal only, or in the mystical, or in both; whether according to the plain literal sense it look as well *retro* as *ante*, or have any especial reference to what is past, shall, by God's assistance, be discussed in the explication of that great article. I dare not in this place use the former authority to prove the eternal generation of the Son of God.

8. That he should be "the only begotten Son of God" otherwise than by his *begetting from the dead* unto glory and immortality, or that he should be so before the world, (from all eternity,) may seem to imply a contradiction *in terminis*. For the father must be before the son, unless we take these terms as terms merely relative, not as importing any substance or persons. All terms merely relative, *qua tales*, are *simul natura*, "coeval for standing." Abraham, though an ancient man, was not Isaac's father before Isaac was his son. But if we respect the persons or sub-
681 stances betwixt whom such relations stand, the person of the father is always before the person of the son, according to the precedence of time; or if we consider not the persons or substances, but that which they call *proximum fundamentum relationis*, "that act or operation from which such relations do immediately result;" so it is true, that *generans est prior generato*, "begetting, or to beget, hath priority or precedency (though not of time, yet of nature) of being begotten." But if the Son of God be coeternal to his Father, there can be no place for either of these precedencies or priorities, nor for any thing truly proportionable to them, seeing in eternity there is *nihil prius, nihil posterius*, "no priority, no succession." How then can Christ Jesus be conceived to be "the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds," if to be before all worlds be as much as to be from all eternity, or in eternity? To this we answer, that where the truth of the matter is unquestionable, men soberly minded should not wrangle about the strict propriety of words, especially in mysteries, whose comprehension far surpasseth man's capacity, and are even to blessed angels ineffable, or unexpressible in any punctual or proper phrase. The truth which the Nicene fathers sought to establish

was this; that Christ Jesus was not made the Son of God before all worlds, but was the Son of God, "Very God of very God," from all eternity, coeternal and coequal to his Father. For so they express themselves, "He was begotten and not made." The manner of his eternal generation or begetting they seem to resemble to the generation or production of light. For so they say, "Light of Light, very God of very God," &c. Now that light which the splendid body of the sun diffuseth through the air (but especially through celestial bodies) is coeval with its fountain which produceth or begetteth it. For it was never held a solecism to call *lumen filiam lucis*, to say "light is the daughter of the sun." But however it shall please men to express the manner of the Son of God's eternal generation, the former inductions, that *pater est prior filio natura et tempore*, that the person or substance of the father hath always precedency both of time and nature in respect of the person and substance of the son, or that *generans* is *prius natura generato*, to beget hath always precedence of nature (though not of time) of being begotten, are true only in temporal generations or successions. All men and other generable creatures since the world began have been mortal *de facto*. The first man was but conditionally immortal: and albeit he might have lived for ever, yet had he a beginning of life in time, and so were his sons or successors to have, albeit they had been born immortal, or both born and begotten before he did subject himself and them to mortality by sin. If immortal creatures could have sons or successors by nature, they were to be immortal by nature; otherwise they should be a kind of monsters, or an equivocal brood. If then he who possesseth eternity have a true and proper Son, which the word "only begotten" implies, after what

manner soever he be his Son, (though by a manner altogether unconceivable to us,) that Son must be co-eternal to his Father. For the truly eternal God to have, beget, or produce a Son which is not eternal, but everlasting only, *a parte post*, is as unconceivable to reason, as that an immortal father should beget a mortal, or a mortal father an immortal son. No schoolmen did ever acknowledge the generation of the Son of God to be univocally like to other generations in all points besides the eternity of it. For even *in*
682 that we acknowledge it to be eternal, we difference it from all other generations by such an unexpressible supereminency as eternity hath over time, or divine immensity of all bodily magnitudes, or the divine essence itself of created natures.

CHAP. XXVI.

That by the Son of God *and* the Word *we are to understand one and the same Party or Person: that* the Word, *by whom St. John saith the World was made, is coeternal to God the Father, who made all things by him.*

BUT to wave this point (for the present) concerning the manner how the eternal God should beget an eternal Son, the thread which we are to unwind (as far as possibly we can without knot or ravel) is this; that Christ Jesus is *heri, hodie*, yesterday, to-day, the same (only true Son of God) for ever, truly co-eternal to his Father. And this being a point of so great consequence, I will not allot one place only for the clearing of it, but insist upon it (more or less) in all the articles which concern Christ: for in all of them we shall be enforced to encounter the Jew, as well as the Arian or Socinian.

2. Whether of these two be the greater sinner, or more dangerous enemy to the cross of Christ, that I

leave to God the Father, and Christ Jesus the Judge of quick and dead, and to the Holy Spirit to determine. But seeing it is no sin to refute or censure both their errors, the error of the modern Jew, who utterly denieth Christ to be the Son of God in any sense, seems to me more excusable, at least less inexcusable, than the error of the Arian or Socinian, who, granting Christ to be the Son of God, deny him to be coeternal to his Father. And my reason is, because it is not more plain or pregnant out of the writings of Moses or the prophets, (which the Jews only acknowledge,) that God was to be incarnate, or to become man, (though that be most pregnant,) than it is from the evangelist and other sacred writers of the New Testament, (whose authority the Socinian denies not,) that Christ is the only Son of God from all eternity. Two or three testimonies shall suffice for the present. Were there no other place besides that of the apostle, Heb. vii. 3, and that of St. John, chap. i, these would captivate my understanding to the obedience of belief in this point. The apostle speaking of Melchisedec saith, *he was without beginning, without end of life,* ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; that is, albeit he had both father and mother, beginning and end of days, yet he is represented unto us without beginning or end of days, that so he might be a type or shadow of the Son of God. But how far a type of the Son of God? Only in this, as he was without beginning of days or end of life. That the apostle by *the Son of God* did mean Christ Jesus and none else, none deny. The very scope and end of this parallel betwixt Melchisedec and Christ was, to shew that Christ the Son of God was truly and really such as Melchisedec was only by shadow or representation; that is, really and absolutely without beginning or end of days, he who is, 683

who was, and is to come: perfect characters of eternity. Again, it is evident that the Son of God who died for us was the same person and party with that ὁ Λόγος, with that *Word* which was made flesh. This consequence is ungainsayable, that if ὁ Λόγος, *the Word*, were without beginning or end of days, God blessed for ever, and coeternal with him who said, *Let there be light*, *Let there be a firmament*, &c., then Christ Jesus the Son of God, who not only we but the Socinians grant did die for us, was and is without beginning or end of days, truly coeternal to God the Father.

3. That ὁ Λόγος, *the Word of God*, was absolutely eternal, not made so in time, is a truth which the wit of man cannot more punctually press against all that in future times should deny or question it, than St. John doth in the beginning of his Gospel. And the manner of his reiterate emphatical expressions of himself (every later adding strength unto the former) confirms the opinion or tradition of the ancient—that he purposely wrote that majestic proem to his Gospel (which is but a paraphrase, though most divine, upon the writings of Moses and the prophets touching this great mystery) for preventing of the spreading of the Arian or like heresy, whose seeds were by the envious man sown in St. John's time, after Christ's other apostles were fallen asleep. *In the beginning* (saith St. John) *the Word was.* What *beginning* doth he mean? The same which Moses meant, when he said, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.* The original phrase, whether used by Moses in the Hebrew, or by St. John in the Greek, exactly answers to the Latin *in principio.* Now though every cause be *principium, the beginning*, or that which gives beginning to its proper effect; yet *omne principium, every beginning*, is not a proper cause of that

which usually follows upon it: for the first dawning or scaring of the morning is the beginning, yet no true positive cause of the day following; it is first in order of time, but not of causality. And this ambiguity of the phrase *in the beginning* is the same both in the Hebrew and in the Chaldee, as the learned in these tongues (no parties in this business) have observed. Now in that first of Genesis we must take the word *beginning*, not for the cause of all which followed, but for the first in order or precedency of duration: for the heavens and the earth (if we take them as now they are) were not made in that *beginning*, or point of time wherein God is said to have made the heaven and earth: nor did any of these, or any other parts of the world, spring or result by way of causality from the first mass, which was without order of parts, or true form; otherwise the distinction of light from darkness, or separation of the waters which are above the firmament, could not have been works of creation properly so called, but rather of generation; whereas the scripture tells us that these were the works of the first and second day; much less could the production of plants or vegetables, or substances endued with sense, have been any proper works of creation, after the heavens and earth were made. When then Moses saith[a], *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*, this is all one as if he had said, the heavens

[a] *In principio erat Verbum*, hoc est, erat ante omnia: significat enim differentiam Filii Dei, et rerum creatarum, quippe hæ in principio fiunt: at æternus Filius nequaquam sit in principio, verum erat ante omnia sæcula. Et quemadmodum cœlum, et terra in principio, id est ante omnia fuerunt facta: ita Dei Verbum erat ante omnia creata. Nam præteritum antiquitatem, et præexistentiam nobis designat. Adhæc, creata in principio fiunt, sed non est necesse, ut sint: at Verbum Dei in principio erat, quod est, non factum est, sed erat et est.—Simon Portius in initio Scholii in hæc verba Joannis.

482 and the earth had a beginning, and that this unformed mass was the beginning or first draught of them, and all things else whereof this mass was the beginning did begin to be before they had any permanent or determinate kind of being. And when St. John saith, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, *In the beginning the Word was*, the phrase in grammatical construction necessarily implies that the Word had a perfect actual being when all things else did but begin to be; and having then an actual proper being, it could not at that time, or any time since, not at the beginning of time itself, begin to be, but was and is, and so continues, without ending.

4. Or lest wits unarmed with arts, or unable to untwist arguments subtilly contrived by sophistry, should be made to stagger in this article of the *eternity* of the Word, he adds, *the Word was with God, and the Word was God;* not by extrinsical or borrowed appellation, (as princes and angels sometimes are called gods,) but by nature God, the Almighty God. Hence he adds, *the same was in the beginning with God;* that is, had as perfect being as God himself had when all things else begun to be—there is his eternity; or if this were not enough, he further saith, ver. 3, *All things were made by him*, to wit, by the Word—this is the character of his almighty power or coequality with God who made all things by him. But here perhaps the Arian, or other involved in his error, will object—at least in favour of this opinion it may be objected—that this universal of St. John, *All things were made by the Word*, is subject to the same limitation or exception which those two universal [b]beforementioned were, the one out of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 27, *When he saith he hath put all things under his feet, he*

[b] Chap. 21. parag. 6.

is excepted who hath put all things under him; the other out of the author of psalm cxlvi, that we may not put trust or confidence in any son of man—which admits of this limitation, unless it be in that Son of man who is also the Son of the Lord God of Israel. Why then may not this universal of St. John, *All things were made by the Word,* admit of this or the like restraint—All other things besides the Word were made by God, and by the Word as his co-agent, but the Word himself made by God alone? Indeed if our evangelist had said only thus, *All things were made by the Word,* this limitation would be more tolerable; but to prevent this cavil or captious limitation, he expressly addeth, *without him was not any thing made that was made.* This clause reacheth home, and carries it clear, that this ὁ Λόγος, *the Word,* was not any of those things which were made or created, otherwise it should have been made or created by itself, which is impossible. The addition of this clause is but an exegetical, or fuller expression of that which St. John said before, *that the Word was with God in the beginning;* that is, when all things which have beginning did begin to be, this Word was God's co-agent, truly eternal and almighty.

5. The same conclusion is contained (though more closely couched, especially in our English version) in that of St. Paul, Heb. i. 2: *God in these last days hath spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.* Though he be appointed *heir of all things,* as he is man, yet this right of inheritance was derived unto him as man, from the work of creation, as he was the Son of God: for, as the apostle there adds, *God by him made the worlds.* Were there then more worlds than one? If there were, all were created by

the Son, and without him neither any world nor any part of the world was created. Howbeit *the world* in
685 the original doth not signify this visible or quantitative world, *non mundos sed sæcula, non* κοσμοὺς, *sed* αἰῶνας, not the heavens, the earth, the elements, or any other part which we see, but all things whatsoever, which have any duration or succession, were made by the Son of God; and he had a perfect being before any thing could be made by him, and is therefore truly eternal. *The worlds* in the original comprehends all things which heretofore have been, and now are not; all things which now are, and sometimes were not; all which hereafter shall be, though after their beginning of being they shall have no end. So that St. Paul's speech expressly extends itself somewhat further than that of St. John: *All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made.* St. John's speech (expressly) refers only to things which were then made; St. Paul's speech extends itself as well to things future as past, not only for their making or beginning, but for their preservation or supportance: for so he saith, Heb. i. 3, *He upholdeth all things by the word of his power.* As the Father then created all things, so were all things created likewise by the Son. The Father preserveth all things, and yet the Son (who is the express image of his glory) preserveth and upholdeth all things: and however we render the original ἀπαύγασμα, *the brightness*, or χαρακτὴρ, he is the Almighty splendour, and the Almighty expression or *character* of the Father Almighty's glory and person. Finally, as he is heir of all things else, so is he heir of the Almighty essential attributes; these he enjoys, not υἱοθεσίᾳ, not by adoption or participation, but κληρονομίᾳ, by right of inheritance, as being his only-begotten Son; yet not his

successor, but his coequal from eternity. And here (by the way) I cannot sufficiently admire the care and wisdom of the ancient church in appointing the Gospel for that great festival (wherein we celebrate the memory of Christ's nativity) out of the forementioned chapter of St. John, and the Epistles for the same festival out of the first of the Hebrews; to the end that all Christians might be sufficiently instructed as well in the truth of his eternal generation, or eternity of his person, as he is the Son of God, as of his nativity in time, as he was the Son of David born of the Virgin, or of his begetting from the dead. And as for the error of the Arians or others, who acknowledging the divine truth of the New Testament, deny the eternity or eternal generation of the Son of God, the most compendious way to refel them is not (as I conceive) fiercely to dispute against them, but rather to let them be carried with the blast of their own doctrine, or draw them unto these fundamental rocks, and let them split themselves.

6. But to follow St.John's expressions a little further, which come nearer to the point now in handling, ver. 4, *In him* (that is, in the Word) *was life;* this is more than if he had said, He is the word of life; for so is the gospel by way of efficacy or efficiency; but men only, who live by it, are the seat and subject of that life which it imparts, which is wrought by the preaching of it. But when the apostle saith, *in the Word was life*, this implies he was that *seat* and *fountain* of life, from whom both the efficacy of the gospel, and that life which is subjectively in men or angels, is derived or participated: *And the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.* All these are attributes or expressions of a nature truly divine, charac-

ters of a living essence, or of life itself, before men or the world were made; and this is confirmed to us, ver. 9, *The Word was the true Light, which lighteth*
686 *every man that cometh into the world;* and if every man that cometh into the world, then the first man Adam was enlightened by this Word: for he was both the light and life of the world ever since the first beginning of either; albeit the world and worldly men did not apprehend him to be such; as it is expressed, ver. 10, *He was in the world, and the world was made by him, but the world knew him not;* so then he was in the world ever since it was made, and the world was in him (as in its eminent or ideal efficient cause) before it was made: *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* Who were these his own? If all generations of men, or all succession of time, or things temporal were made by him, all these were his own: yet before the coming into the world of which the apostle here speaks, all these were not his own by the same peculiar right. He always was Lord of lords and King of kings, and supreme Ruler of such as ruled the nations; yet were not all nations his peculiar inheritance; this was the prerogative of Abraham's seed, or Jacob's posterity. And albeit he had been in them, and with them after a more special kind of presence for many generations; yet at this time, whereto the apostle's words refer, he first came by a peculiar manner both into the world and unto them, by becoming an inhabitant or sojourner in the territories bequeathed to Abraham and to his seed. But these who were thus his own by peculiar redemption from the land of Egypt, for the most part received him not: yet his coming (though) after this peculiar manner to his own was not lost, nor was God's promise to Abraham any way impeached by their refusing, or

not receiving of him; for *to as many as received him,* (whether they were of Abraham's seed after the flesh, or of the Gentiles, to all of both sorts,) *he gave a right* or *privilege to become the sons of God,* ver. 12. All were made the true and lively sons of Abraham by receiving him, who was before Abraham, but was now made man of the seed of Abraham. Now in that he made all the sons of God which received him, this presupposeth he was the Son of God, not by making, not by taking the seed of Abraham; but the Son of God by nature or eternal generation, the true God of Israel. For so the evangelist concludes that heavenly discourse, ver. 14: *And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.*

7. Why St. John in the proem to his Gospel doth instyle Christ Jesus *the Word of God,* rather than *the Son of God;* why it is rather said, *the Word became flesh,* than *the Son became flesh;* in what prophecy the Word's becoming flesh was foretold or foreshadowed, with the manner how it was made flesh, or the meaning of this phrase, must be the subject of some chapters following. This, for the present, is evident out of places before alleged, that St. John did mean no other party or person by *the Word,* than him whom afterwards throughout his whole Gospel he styles *the Son of God:* and out of the same places it is as evident, that *the Word,* ὁ Λόγος, was that very God of Israel who had promised to erect a tabernacle, and dwell in his people, or amongst them, and to manifest his glory to them after a more peculiar manner than he had done, either during the time of the first tabernacle, or of both the temples. For that text of St. John, i. 14, *He dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory*

as of the only begotten Son of God, imports the exact fulfilling of all those prophecies wherein the manifestation of God's glory in succeeding ages is promised. That the glory of God was to be revealed in
687 the flesh, St. John did learn from scriptures which were extant before our Saviour's incarnation; though this he learned not by study or art, but from divine revelation. But that the man Christ Jesus, with whom he conversed here on earth, was the Word which the scripture foretold should be made flesh, or that the glory which shined in him was the very brightness of God's glory, this St. John knew by experiment, as having seen his transfiguration upon mount Tabor, and conversed with him after his resurrection; this both he and St. Paul believed from sensible evidence of experiments exactly answerable to the predictions of Moses and other prophets, concerning the glory of God, which was in later times more fully to be revealed than in former.

8. To omit those two places before cited, Exod. xxix. 44, 45. and Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, (unto both which places that of St. John, chap. i. 14, doth in special refer,) we will insist a while upon that text, Exod. xxxiii. 14—23: *The Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend.* The sum of this dialogue is expressed, vv. 14, 15: *My presence* (saith God) *shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest. And Moses said, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence: for wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight?* But Moses, not satisfied with the promise of God's presence, and separation of them from other people, requests a sight of his glory; and this in part is granted, vv. 21, 22, 23: *And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand*

upon a rock: and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by: and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen. For so God had said, ver. 20, *Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see my face, and live.* Yet this sight of God's glory, or so much of it as Moses saw, left such an impression in his face or countenance, as you may read, chap. xxxiv. 33, that he was constrained *to put a vail upon his face,* whilst he talked with the people, who were not able to behold the glory. But *this vail* (as our apostle tells us, 2 Cor. iii. 14.) *is put away in Christ.* It is true: yet this ὁ Λόγος, or *the Word,* was not *the Christ* to do away this vail, till he put on the vail of flesh. The flesh then was a vail to him, but as a glass or mirror to us. We may in Christ with open face behold that glory of God, whose reflex on Moses' face the Israelites could not behold but through a vail. Christ then is that glass or mirror, wherein the brightness of God's glory, which the Israelites could not then behold, may now be seen. But did the Jews or Israelites in the time of the Old Testament (or in that time wherein the author of the Book of Wisdom wrote) conceive any such matter as our apostle here infers, that the glory of God should be more fully revealed; or that men should be more capable of the participation of his presence in later ages, than they had been in former? Some of them did, others did not; all of them ought, even by their own prenotions or interpretations of scriptures, so to have conceived and believed: for thus some modern Jews conceive of Moses' request. "What was that," saith a great rabbin amongst them,

"which Moses our master sought to attain unto, when he said, *I pray thee, shew me thy glory?*

9. "He requested to know the truth of the being (or essence) of the holy blessed God, until that he were known in his heart, like as a man is known, whose face is seen, and whose form is engraven in one's heart; so that man is distinguished or separated in his knowledge from other men. So Moses requested that
688 the essence of God might be distinctly known in his heart from the essence of other things, so that he might know the truth of his essence as it is. But God answered him, that the knowledge of living man, who is compounded of body and soul, hath no ability to apprehend the truth of this thing concerning his Creator[c]." That knowledge of God, or sight of his glory whereof Moses was uncapable, was truly engraven in the heart of the man Christ Jesus, and *in his light we see light.* He that saw him with the eyes of faith did see the Father, he did see the glory of the Godhead. The brightness of the Divine glory is alike inaccessible, alike incommunicable in the Son as in the Father, if we consider them in their divine nature alone; but in the man Christ Jesus, and in him alone, we may behold the brightness of the Divine glory, which neither eye nor heart of man could behold in itself, or in any Divine Person alone, but only in the Divine Person which was incarnate.

10. And it is not here to be omitted that the forecited twenty-ninth of Exodus, ver. 45, *I will dwell among the children of Israel,* is thus translated by Onkelus in his Paraphrase, *Et ponam præsentiam divinitatis meæ in medio filiorum Israel.* So Fagius (with some others) renders it, and why he so renders

[c] Ainsworth upon this place, out of Maimon. &c.

it gives the reason[d]: and the later rabbins (as [e] one well conversant in their writings saith) generally observe, that whensoever it is said in the person of God that *I will dwell amongst them*, this may not be understood but of the Majesty of the holy and blessed God. To this purpose they allege psalm lxxxv. 9, *His salvation is nigh them that fear him; that glory may dwell in our land.* And Simeon, in his dying song, doth testify, that Jesus the Son of Mary, whom he embraced when he was presented in the temple, was the salvation of God: *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* And although our Saviour, whilst he lived here on earth, had no constant dwelling, no place of inheritance; yet at this time the Godhead, or that glory of the Godhead of which the psalmist speaketh, was incorporated in him. These and the like scriptures St. John did see fulfilled in Christ, when he said, *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father;* that is, such glory as could not be communicated to any but to him who was by nature the Son of God; such glory as no flesh could behold otherwise than as it was in Christ, or in the Word made flesh; such a declaration of the Divine Majesty as none besides the Son of God could declare. So the apostle saith, ver. 18: *No man hath seen God at any time; but the*

[d] Paraphrasi quadam usus sum ad explicandum vim et energiam vocis Chaldaicæ Shechinah, quam, ad verbum quietem vertere licet; שכן enim verbum, quiescere significat. Hinc Hebræi præsentiam Dei quæ sese in tabernaculo circa arcam exerebat, a quiescendo, (quod ibi videretur quasi quietem et sedem suam habere Deus) Shechinah appellant. Nos jam quietem, jam præsentiam Divinitatis, jam majestatem illius reddidimus.—Fagius in Exod. xxix. 45.

[e] Ainsworth upon this place.

only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο, ***he hath declared,*** or ***expounded him.*** But wherein doth this declaration consist, or how was it made by the *Son?* not by *word* only, or by declaration of his will, but by matter of fact, or real representation: but of this point more fully in the exposition of the name *Jesus*. Seeing Moses had said that no flesh could see God and live, it may seem strange to men which have not their senses exercised in the search of scriptures, that the prophet Isaiah should avouch, ***the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.*** Isaiah xl. 5. Moses' speech, and that conceit which the ancient had—that man could not see God and live—was universally true, until the *Word*, or brightness of God's glory, was
689 made flesh. But this was the very mystery which Isaiah in that chapter foretold, as elsewhere hath been declared in part, and shall be (as it comes in order to be handled) more fully a little after this chapter.

11. That the modern Jews can expect the God of their fathers should dwell with them, should walk with them, should manifest his glory unto them, after such a manner as their own doctors interpret his promise made to Moses to all these purposes, after any other way or manner than the evangelist witnessed he did walk with and manifest his glory unto his disciples; this (to us Christians) is an evident demonstration that the veil, which their forefathers put before their faces when they could not behold the brightness of God's glory which shone on Moses' face after he had seen God and talked with him, is to this day put before their hearts when they read Moses and the prophets. For this glorious majesty of God, ***the very express*** or ***graven image of his substance,*** which (they say)

Moses desired to see but could not, did so personally dwell in the man Christ Jesus, that whilst he walked with his people God did walk with them; whilst he remained within the territories of Judah or Galilee, *salvation and glory did dwell in their land.* And to this day in whomsoever he dwelleth by faith, in him God dwelleth by faith. As he is the express image of the person of his Father, so every one in whom he thus dwelleth, in him is the express image of *him* as he is man; he is the tabernacle or temple of the living God. The inference is our apostle's, 2 Cor. vi. 16: *Ye are the temples of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.* Our evangelist St. John, Rev. xxi. 3, exegetically dilates the former testimonies of Moses and the prophets a great deal further than St. Paul here doth: *I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.* But this mortality must put on immortality, and our corruptible flesh become incorruptible, before this last clause of St. John's prophecy can be literally fulfilled in us, or begin to bear date *in esse.* And before this happy change of our mortal bodies, none of those other prophecies, Exod. xxix. Levit. xxvi. Ezek. xxxvii., shall be finally accomplished; albeit all of them have been already fulfilled in different measure and manner, both according to the literal and mystical sense: for God hath dwelt and doth dwell more properly in the man Christ Jesus,

than at any time he did in the tabernacle or temple. These were in their times the seats of God's peculiar presence, of the manifest appearances of his Divine majesty, from which all the blessings upon Israel or Abraham's posterity by bodily descent were derived, after such a manner as the visible light in this inferior world is derived from the body or sphere of the sun. Yet such as were partakers of these blessings, all the particular synagogues through the land of Jewry, did not by this participation of his presence in the temple or tabernacle become temples or tabernacles of the God of Israel: these were never conceived to be or instyled the seat of his rest, or of his peculiar presence. But since *the Word was made flesh*, since the
690 seed of Abraham was made the temple of the living God, every particular church, truly Christian, becomes a more proper seat of God's peculiar presence than the material temple in its glory and splendour was; and far more communicative of all blessings spiritual to every true particular member of them. Every individual or particular man who is incorporated into this church, and made a living member of it, doth by the participation of that Spirit which dwelleth in it become a true temple or tabernacle of the living God. Whosoever truly believes in Christ, whosoever eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood, Christ (who is the *prototypon* and true temple of God) doth dwell in him, and he in Christ: he is in God, and God in him after a more peculiar manner than either the patriarchs or prophets were in God, or God in them. But this peculiar manner of God's dwelling in us by faith, and we in him, hath his peculiar place in other principal articles of the Creed, or in the treatise of the sacrament concerning the mystical union betwixt Christ and his members. The next query, which in this

section offers itself to be discussed, and must be the title of the next chapter, is briefly this:

CHAP. XXVII.

Why St. John doth rather say, the Word was made flesh, *than* the Son of God was made flesh, *albeit* the Son of God *and* the Word *denote one and the same Person.*

To this query some judicious divines make answer, that the second Person in Trinity was (at least implicitly) known unto some heathen philosophers under the title of ὁ Λόγος long before his incarnation, and longer before St. John wrote his Gospel. Now it is not improbable, that those heretics which did call the divinity of Christ in question, (against whose heresy the evangelist did put in that caveat in the beginning of his Gospel,) at the least such as were in danger to be seduced by them, were (to his knowledge) better versed in the writings of Plato and Trismegist than in Moses and the prophets: and men naturally both conceive and embrace the truth with more facility, when it is delivered unto them in terms whereunto they have been inured. Now such as were well read in Plato or Trismegist, or would be willing to read them, could not be ignorant of an eternal Λόγος, which they called the Son of the eternal *Mind* or Essence. And this Λόγος, *the Word*, or image of the eternal *Mind*, was not in their apprehension merely notional, or representative only, but δημιουργὸς, a *word* or *reason* (or however we express it) truly operative, the invisible cause or maker of all things visible. Unto these and the like prenotions which the heathen philosophers had of an eternal Father in his eternal Son, St. John (in the judgment of some great divines) did purposely apply himself, and frame his expressions to their capacity, whom he sought to reclaim or to instruct. Nor is it either unusual, or unbeseeming the

apostles themselves, to alter both the matter and form of speech, according to the diversity of the parties whom they seek to reform. St. Paul did not dispute with the Athenians after the same manner he did with
691 the Jews, nor did he instruct the Hebrew converts in the same language or form of catechism which he used amongst the Gentiles: St. John then (in the conjecture of the former ancient divines) did make the same advantage of the prenotions which the heathens had of this truth, which St. Paul did from the inscription of the Athenian altar; *That God* (saith he) *whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.* But did these harmless speculations of these philosophers require any such reformation from St. John, as the Athenians' superstitious worship did from St. Paul? Sure their followers were to be better catechized in this truth, than they had been or could be by any philosophy: their best speculations (though in themselves true) were to their professors altogether fruitless, and (as I take it) without any prenotion or expectance that this ὁ Λόγος δημιουργὸς, that *Word* by which they acknowledge all things were made, should be made visible in our flesh, should exhibit a more exquisite representation of the divine nature and essence in the microcosm or little model of man's body, than had been exhibited in the making and governing this great universe. They knew that ὁ Λόγος was truly God without beginning, but they did not either adore him as God, neither did they adore their eternal Νοῦς as God, or by *him.* All this they were to learn from St. John: for this is a mystery which far surpasseth the capacity of man to conceive or comprehend, without revelation or instruction, either mediately or immediately made unto us, by this ὁ Λόγος, *the Word* himself.

2. Nor is it probable that either Plato or Trismegist did first discover so much of this grand mystery as was known among the heathens before St. John wrote his Gospel. And it is no less impious than improbable, to suspect that St. John should borrow those divine expressions of the Word's divinity from any heathen philosopher, as that blasphemous Platonic exclaimed when he read the beginning of his Gospel, that he had stolen his expressions out of his master Plato. Nor was St. John himself the first of all sacred writers which did display the titles of the Son of God by ὁ Λόγος, or by *the Word, Light,* or *Life*, which was without beginning or ending: most probable it is, that Plato and Trismegist did borrow that light which they had in that mystery from the ancient Hebrews, or from rules received by them by constant tradition, for interpreting not one but many passages in Moses and the prophets, as St. John there doth from the same rule or tradition. No doubt the Chaldee paraphrasts did express the divine nature of the Son of God by *the Word;* the one before St. John did write his Gospel, the other near upon the same time. For Jonathan (as Fagius tells us) did live about the time wherein Herod reedified the second temple, Onkelos a little after the destruction of it and of Jerusalem by Titus.

3. *The Word* of the Lord (saith an exquisite Hebrician[e]

[e] Shindlerus in vocabulo מְתוּרְגְּמָן. Constat enim cum ex Hebræorum tum Latinorum scriptis hunc nostrum Paraphrastem Chaldæum, quem Onkelos appellant, cui translatio Pentateuchi adscribitur, filium fuisse sororis Titi imperatoris, nec diu post devastationem secundi templi Paraphrasim suam conscripsisse. Alterum vero Paraphrasten, quem Jonathan filium Uzielis vocant, cui prophetas tribuunt, ante devastationem templi sua scripsisse. Tametsi sint qui velint utrumque tota Biblia in linguam Chaldaicam transtulisse. Sed audiamus hac de re testimonium doctissimi viri Galatini, qui libro primo de arcanis catholicæ veritatis contra Judæos cap. 3. sic scribit: Per idem ferme tempus, anno scilicet ante

and judicious peruser of the Chaldee Paraphrase) is often used instead of *Jehovah* or *Elohim*, (both being proper names of God,) and denotes *Messiah* or *Christ*, by whom God made all things and preserves them. He instanceth in that of Isaiah i. 14, where the Hebrew text is literally thus, *My soul abhorreth your new moons*, &c. The Chaldee or Targum renders it thus, *My Word abhorreth your new moons*. And again, Jer. i. 8, where God, speaking in his own person, saith, *I am with thee*; the Chaldee renders it, *My Word is with thee*. And according to the Hebrew, where we read, Isaiah xlv. 17, *Israel shall be saved with an everlasting salvation in the Lord*, or *by the*
692 *Lord*; the Chaldee hath it, *Israel shall be saved with an everlasting salvation by the Word of the Lord*. But two places of Onkelos there be more remarkably pertinent to our present purpose than any others which I have observed: the first is Genesis iii. 8: *And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden*; that is, (as Onkelos renders that place,) *they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord*; or, *the voice of the Lord God the Word*. So that ὁ Λόγος, *the Word*, (which in the beginning was with God, and was God,) did convent our first parents, as having peculiar reason to examine and convict them of their

Christi natalem, circiter secundo et quadragesimo, Jonathas Uzielis filius, Hillelisque auditor atque Symeonis justi, qui Christum infantulum suscepit in brachiis, condiscipulus, totum Vetus Instrumentum, in Chaldæam vertit linguam atque exposuit: ita sensum e sensu traducens, et ita obscurissima quæque exponens vocabula, ut quæcunque de Messia dubia, et latenter scripta erant, certa atque clarissima reddiderit: Adeo, ut ejus editio non tam interpretatio, quam glossa atque expositio videatur. Quam Hebræi Thargum, id est, translationem nuncupant. Tantæque apud eos est authoritatis, ut non solum ei contradicere nemo audeat, sed non minus quoque fidei, quam ipsi textui passim omnes eidem adhibeant, &c.—Paulus Fagius in Præfatione ad Versionem Onkeli. Vide simile testimonium Lyrani in cap. viii. Isa.

transgression, because he in person, not the Father or Holy Ghost, was to undertake for their restauration, was to combat with the serpent for their redemption, whom immediately after he convents in the woman's presence, and denounceth this sentence upon both; *The Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and hers.* Gen. iii. 14, 15. It is no harsh construction to read this place, *And they heard the voice of the Word the Lord, per appositionem,* not *the voice of the Word of the Lord,* which the Latin renders in the genitive case, *the voice* or *the Word of the Lord.* Yet if we read it so, we shall not dissent from the forecited meaning of the Chaldee; and the same interpreters refer the word *walking* unto God himself, (as if he had said, *they heard the voice of God, which walked in the garden,*) not unto the *voice* whether of God or of the Word of God, though Fagius, with some other, think the word *walking* may be read in the accusative case, *audiverunt vocem Domini Dei ambulantem, they heard the voice of the Lord walking,* that is, increasing or intending itself by degrees. But this otherwise most judicious writer sometime censures the seventy interpreters of ignorance in the Hebrew tongue, sometime slights their interpretation, without just cause. For seeing it hath pleased the Holy Ghost, in the greatest mysteries concerning Christ, to follow their interpretation, though not so authentic in itself as the Hebrew Canon is; this commands my assent, though not to the opinion of some among the ancients, that these seventy were as truly inspired by the Holy Ghost as the penmen of

the Hebrew Canon were; yet thus far, that they were directed, either immediately by the Spirit, or by the rules and traditions in their times received, for the right unfolding of many places, which in the Hebrew were either ambiguous or involved, and better directed by such rules than modern Hebricians are by Masorets or the later rabbins, albeit both of them be of good use. Thus to think of the LXX, their consonancy with the Chaldee Paraphrase, in many places of great moment, doth (besides the former special motives) somewhat incline me; yet did not the Chaldee (as I am persuaded) borrow aught from them, or they from
698 the Chaldee, but both were beholden to the prenotions or received rules of the ancient Hebrews.

4. The second remarkable place wherein Onkelos doth not dissent from the Hebrews, but rather unfoldeth the mystery implicitly contained in it, is that of Genesis xxii. 16—18: *By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that in blessing I will bless thee,* &c. *and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.* So the Hebrew. The Chaldee thus: *By my word have I sworn, saith the Lord, that blessing I will bless thee,* &c. *because thou hast obeyed my word.* This translation of the Chaldee affords more light for the right and punctual explication of St. Paul, Heb. vi. 17, than most commentators of that place have done, albeit some Greek scholiasts which I have consulted (but whose words I now remember not) have made acute and accurate search for the true meaning of it. *God,* saith the apostle, *willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath.* So our English reads it, yet with this correction or animadversion in the margin, *interposed himself by an oath;* but the

original *verbatim* sounds thus, *Deus intermediavit juramento; God did intermediate by oath.* Now the object of this oath (as our apostle tells us, ver. 13.) was God himself: *When God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself;* yet this, *By myself have I sworn,* is more express in the Septuagint than in the Hebrew. But the Chaldee further instructs us, that the object of this oath was *the Word,* ὁ Λόγος, which did not note only God himself, but the μεσίτης, *the mediator* between God and man; and the tenor or contents of the oath was, that this ὁ Λόγος (who was God himself, and the object of this oath) should become the seed of Abraham, and make mediation by such a sacrifice as God the Father, for trial only, did require of Abraham. The coming of the Son of God, or ὁ Λόγος, into the world, which had long before been promised, was not newly ratified only by oath, but from this time the Son of God was truly predestinated to be the seed of Abraham, or the seed of Abraham to be the Son of God; as afterwards the seed or Son of David was; to wit, from that time wherein the Lord had sworn to David, *that his seed should endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven,* psalm lxxxix. 29. It is not to be omitted, that where the Hebrew, psalm cx. hath it, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand,* &c.; the Chaldee hath it, *The Lord said unto his Word, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool.* And this *Word,* or this *Lord,* (for so the Hebrews express it by *Adonai,*) was then destinated, and declared by oath, to become not only the Son of David, but to be *a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* ver. 4. All these three places will require some further consideration in the treatise of God's covenant with Abraham and with

David, or of our Saviour's consecration to his everlasting priesthood. Thus much for the present may suffice, that St. John was not the first which conceived the Son of God, God himself, to be ὁ Λόγος, much less did he need to borrow his expressions from any writers not truly canonical. For all this was contained in the places before alleged, as Jonathan and Onkelos interpret them; and was likewise expressly contained in the Hebrew in sundry places of the prophets; of some of which (God willing) in the next chapter.

5. As little probability there is, either that St. Paul, Heb. i. 1, should borrow his characters of the Son of
694 God from the author of the Book of Wisdom, or that author his (though muchwhat the same) from St. Paul, as that St. John should take his expressions from the former Chaldee paraphrast, or the latter from St. John. Both St. Paul and the author of the Book of Wisdom had their hints (at least) from such prenotions as the ancient Hebrews had of the Wisdom or Son of God, or of their expected Messias, when he should be revealed. It is no way improbable (much less incredible) that such interpreters or paraphrasers upon sacred writ as (for aught we know) did not expressly believe in the Son of God, either before his incarnation or since, should have the forementioned prenotions concerning the promised Messias, seeing the very Samaritans had the like, which they could not gather from the ordinary reading of original scripture, if at all they read them. Such a prenotion that woman, John iv, had of the Messias, before she did believe that Jesus was the promised Messias or Christ: *I know* (saith she) *that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things*, ver. 25. She had a prenotion and conceit that the Messias should tell them all things in a better manner than the prophets

could do: for she had acknowledged our Saviour to be a prophet, ver. 19, yet rested not satisfied with his answer to her question there made, until he had told her in express terms that he was the promised Messias.

6. But to compare St. Paul's characters of the Son of God with the author's of the Book of Wisdom's characters of the Wisdom of God.

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις,

God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, Heb. i. 1.

Ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν,

Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds;

Ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, δι' ἑαυτοῦ καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς,

Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;

Τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a far more excellent name than they.

Ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής· διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν μεμιασμένον εἰς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτει. Ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστιν φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. Μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται,

For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all Wisd. vii. 25.

καὶ μένουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει, καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα, φίλους Θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Θεὸς, εἰμὴ τὸν σοφίᾳ συνοικοῦντα. Ἔστι γὰρ αὕτη εὐπρεπεστέρα ἡλίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀστερῶν θέσιν φωτὶ συγκρινομένη, εὑρίσκεται προτέρα. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ διαδέχεται νύξ· σοφίας δὲ οὐ κατισχύσει κακία.

things: and remaining in herself she maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets. For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom. For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it. For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom.

7. There is not one proposition or character in all this passage which (for aught I yet know) is not canonical: no attribute of wisdom which can fitly be applied to any person or substance save only to the Son of God, or at least to the Holy Ghost. But whether this author did so intend them, or apply them; or whether the Holy Ghost did by his peculiar inspiration, or God by his special providence, direct him thus to speak or write, after the same manner he did Moses and other authors of canonical scriptures, is not to me so evident. Nor is it probable that this book was written by Solomon, albeit the author of it doth put upon him the person of Solomon, and personate himself under the habit or garb of the king of Israel. Their opinion is not improbable who think this book was written by Philo the Jew, to solace himself and his countrymen upon the ill success of his embassage unto Caius the emperor, which was not many years after our Saviour's death, nor many before St. Paul did write his Epistle, or St. John his Gospel. The book itself (whosoever was the author of it) is an excellent and a most elegant paraphrase upon many canonical scriptures, and contains many exquisite expressions of

God's special providence and infinite wisdom in governing the world, and in overruling both the policy and the power of greatest princes. The same book notwithstanding is (for many reasons) justly denied by St. Jerome, by our church, and by many grave writers in other churches reformed, to be any genuine part of the Old Testament; to be any portion of the rule or canon of the Hebrews' faith, received by them before our Saviour's incarnation. And being no portion of their catholic rule or canon, it is no way probable that our apostle St. Paul, when he wrote the divine Epistle directed in special to the Hebrews, his countrymen, would borrow his titles or attributes of our Saviour's glory from this author's encomiasm of wisdom. Nor can any convincing proof be brought to persuade us, that the author of this book (whosoever he was) did make application of these characters of wisdom (in the abstract) unto Christ; or truly believe, either that Jesus the Son of Mary, (though living haply on earth before his time,) or that the promised Messias, whose coming he did expect, should be the Wisdom of God, which he so magnifies, or God incarnate, in whom all former scriptures and his own encomiasm of divine wisdom should in particular and punctually be fulfilled. That the commendations which he gives to wisdom (at least the most of them) can really and truly be applied to none but Christ, who is the Wisdom and Son of God; all this and more being granted, will not conclude that he did intend or think of Christ's birth or incarnation, or apprehend the personal union between the Son of God and the Son of David: for Tully and other heathen writers have made such panegyrical descriptions of virtues moral and intellectual, of wisdom especially, or of philosophy in their abstract notion, as can have no real pattern save only in the

divine incomprehensible Essence: and yet they themselves lived, and (for aught we know) died without any distinct knowledge or apprehension of the true God; yea, many times committed gross idolatry with those virtues, whether moral or intellectual, which they so magnified in the abstract.

696 8. Whilst we peruse authors either heterodoxal or not canonical, this rule (I take it) is of general good use; that for matter of practice, or application, we are specially to consider *quam bene*, not *quam bona;* on the contrary, in point of speculation, not *quam bene, sed quam bona*, not how well, or to what good end they speak, but how good things they speak or write. The writings of the modern Jew are for the most part malicious, and morally evil; yet (unto such as know to make right use of them) in their speculations upon the Old Testament (even in such of them as are professed enemies to our Lord and Saviour, and to the evangelical story) there be so many scattered characters, or misplaced syllables, as being rightly put together and well ordered by some judicious Aristarchus, or accurate composer, would make up a more exact commentary upon most of those places in Moses and the prophets which we Christians usually allege for proving the truth of sundry articles in this Creed, than can be gathered out of the Christian interpreters of the Old or New Testament, which have not the care or skill to beat those enemies at their own weapons, or to retort those blows which they offer at us upon themselves. Those strange dreams or fancies which they have concerning mysteries to be revealed in the days of the Messias, are evident signs that the Lord hath cast them into this long slumber for the instruction of us Christians: and the right interpretation of their dreams, or their application, is one of the highest

degrees of prophecy which in this later age can ordinarily be expected: and I would to God some sons of the prophets would address their pains and studies to this purpose, unto which, according to our poor talent, we shall have occasion to speak in some special articles following. But to return unto the point proposed in the beginning of this chapter; one special reason why St. John enstyles our Saviour ὁ Λόγος, *the Word,* (not *the Son,*) was to make up a more exquisite resemblance of his incomprehensible essence, of the eternity of his person, and his eternal generation, of his consubstantiality with God the Father, than (without this particular expression) we could have had, or perhaps would have sought for. Every one of his several titles, whether given to him by St. John or by St. Paul, adds something to the better expression of his unexpressible excellence, unto the raising of our apprehensions to a higher pitch of admiration of these incomprehensible mysteries, than one or two, or fewer than are made, could have done. To inform our understandings or rectify our faith, that the Son of God is more exquisitely or more consubstantially like unto his Father than any son of man is unto the father of his body, he is by the Holy Ghost enstyled *the express image* or *character* of his Father's person, Heb. i. 3. No man can be altogether so like another as the impression is to the print. To instruct us again that this absolute and perfect expression of the Father in the Son far exceeds any such expression as the statue can make of man, or such as the seal leaves in the wax, he is by St. John enstyled by the name of *life;* being the living substantial image of his Father. Again, to rectify our apprehensions that the Son of God did not grow into this absolute live image of his Father by degrees, after such a manner as the sons of men do, (for no

child is altogether like his father from his birth,) it hath pleased the Holy Ghost further to emblazon his incomprehensible generation or begetting under the character of *brightness* or *light*. *He is the bright-*
697 *ness of God's glory*, saith St. Paul; and by St. John, *the light:* and this is the most exquisite of any resemblance that can be taken from things sensible. The sun and fountain of visible light doth naturally, without interposition of time, without any labour or operation, produce or beget brightness or splendour. And this it doth so uncessantly, so perpetually, that if we could imagine there had been a sun or fountain of light without beginning, to continue without end of time or days, we could not but imagine that there should be a brightness or splendour perpetually produced without beginning or without ending of such production, or of the brightness so produced, by this fountain of light. Yet this supposition being granted or admitted, the resemblance would herein fail; that this continual production of light, without beginning, without ending, did yet admit a succession, or continuity of time, which the eternal generation of the Son of God doth not admit, for that only is truly eternal which is not only without beginning or end of days, but without all succession in duration, without mensuration of days or years: all which are contained in eternity, as this visible world and all the power in it are contained in his power who is invisible and incorporeal. All these resemblances are taken from things sensible. Lastly, the eternal generation of the Son of God (as most divines will have it) is most fitly resembled by the Word, or representation of the mind or spirit, which for its nature is more immortal than the light: yet this resemblance, or any that can be taken from our intellection, or secret conference between the

spirit and soul of man within itself, is in this point (to omit others) lame or defective; that albeit the spirit or mind of man be immortal, and as uncessant in his proper acts or operations as the sun is in sending forth light to this inferior world; yet our choicest thoughts or cogitations most internal and most spiritual, vanish. The mutual conference betwixt our spirits and internal senses is not perpetual and uncessant: the reason whereof (as the philosopher teacheth) is, because the passive understanding (whether the cogitative faculty or phantasy), without whose continual service or attendance there can be no constant record or remembrance of the acts or instructions of the understanding, is corruptible, especially in its act or operation; and subject to greater change and alterations than the lower regions of the air, albeit the mind or spirit be as clear and constant as the sun. But in the life to come, when *this corruptible shall have put on incorruption*, and our inferior faculties become immortal, not only the proper acts or operations of the mind or spirit, or of the active understanding, but the apprehension also of what the mind or spirit suggests, or their impressions upon the inferior faculties of the soul, shall be incorruptible, uncessant, and perpetual. And then no doubt our apprehensions of this great mystery, comprehended under this name or title of *the Word*, shall be more clear and perfect to the most illiterate and meanest capacities (this day living) than in this life it is, or hath been to the most profound and subtilest school-divines, which have most studied the meaning of this mystery. And yet (under correction) the full importance of ὁ Λόγος, such as in this life may be had and ought to be had, is either not so well conceived or not so well expressed by most interpreters (whether of the Old or New Testament) as it might have been,

if they had but taken notice of those several places in both Testaments in which the Son of God is enstyled ὁ Λόγος.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Incarnation of the Word, *or of the Son of God under this Title, was foreprophesied by sundry Prophets; with the Exposition of some peculiar Places to this Purpose, not usually observed by Interpreters.*

ANOTHER special reason, besides the former mentioned, why St. John doth say *the Word was made flesh*, rather than *the Son of God was made flesh*, was because the incarnation of ὁ Λόγος, *the Word*, was more expressly foretold than the incarnation of the Son of God; though one and the same person or party be so really meant and intended by the Holy Ghost, that the incarnation of the Word doth concludently infer the incarnation of the only Son of God. But where then was the incarnation of ὁ Λόγος foretold or foreshadowed? It was (I take it) not only foretold, but solemnly proclaimed by the prophet Isaiah, ch. xl; and the fulfilling of what he promised was declared by John Baptist at our Saviour's baptism. John (we know) was the voice of the crier foreprophesied, ver. 3. of that chapter, and did perform his function (as it was foretold he should) in the wilderness. The chief contents of the cry, or proclamation itself, are two: the first, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and, *Make straight in the desert a highway for our God.* This was fulfilled by John Baptist's preaching of repentance. The burden of his preaching was, *Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.* But the voice said again (whether to Isaiah or to John Baptist, or to both), *Cry; and he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower*

fadeth: because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever. This was the effect, or sum of that which John Baptist was to proclaim. Of the exact congruity betwixt John's doctrine and the prophet's prediction I have elsewhere (to my remembrance) treated. Concerning the meaning of the prophet's words, *All flesh is grass*, that is handled by most interpreters and preachers, in funeral sermons especially. Nor can there be a fitter text for displaying the mortality and frailty of our nature; nor (as some think) for setting forth the excellency of preaching. But to magnify the word of God in general, as it is preached by us the unworthy ministers of it, is (in most men's interpretations) indirectly to magnify ourselves, or our calling, which (howsoever our persons be) is questionless honourable, and so to be esteemed by all good Christians. Yet this excellency, whether of the word preached, or of preachers, was either no part, or the least part of the prophet's meaning, when he saith, *the word of the Lord endureth for ever:* for the true use and end of that prophecy, chap. xl. is expressed in the beginning of it: *Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith our God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.* But what comfort could it be to Jerusalem, or to God's people, that the word of God which is preached to them *endureth for ever*, whenas they were but as *the grass which withereth?* The more the prophet did magnify the immortality of God's word in this sense, the more he must have increased the sad remembrance 699
of their own misery and mortality. And however

Isaiah and other prophets had preached the word of the Lord more plentifully and more powerfully in that age wherein he lived than it had been in any age before, or in any age since, (excepting the times wherein John Baptist, and our Saviour and his apostles lived on earth;) yet mortality and misery did still grow faster upon this people than it had done in any age before; so fast for four or five generations, that this people became like grass withering by degrees, and at last to be rooted up. The matter then of comfort which the prophet there promiseth to Jerusalem, was not in his time really exhibited, but to be continually expected, until the word of the Lord, which he so magnifieth for its glory and immortality, should become visible to all flesh. The comfort there prophesied of, did consist in the manifestation of that glory, which he then foretold should be revealed: for whatsoever in that chapter he uttered was not delivered by way of common place, by ordinary catechism of doctrine and uses, but by the extraordinary spirit of prophecy. The issue of his prophecy was, that the state and condition of all flesh should be much better in later times, than in his age, or any age before, it was. At what time then was this comfort actually exhibited to all flesh which before was but grass, and as the flower of grass that fadeth? Then assuredly, when *the Word of the Lord, which endureth for ever*, did become flesh, or was incorporated in our flesh. For the life and efficacy of this Word (as the text literally imports) was to be manifested by its admirable effects or operations upon the mortality or weakness of flesh. Our mortality or miserable condition (as the prophet presumes) could not weaken the immortal efficacy of this Word, whereas the Word might give life and immortality to all flesh, which should see the

glory, and taste the goodness of it. By the *word of the Lord* then, *which endureth for ever*, we are to understand, not *verbum Domini*, not only *the word of the Lord*, as it is daily preached, but the Lord himself, who, if he speak the word, great shall be the number of the preachers of the word, both of prophets and of prophetesses.

2. The best interpretation of the prophet Isaiah is already made unto our hands, partly by St. Peter, partly by St. John in the beginning of his Gospel: *We are born again*, saith St. Peter, *not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever*. 1 Pet. i. 23. By *corruptible seed*, he means our corruptible nature, as we are the sons of Adam: for so he expounds his own meaning in the words of the prophet before-mentioned; *For that all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass: the grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away*. Now that which itself withereth and falleth away can yield no seed of life, can minister no comfort unto misery or mortality. The antithesis, then, or opposition, requires, that by *the incorruptible seed* of which we are born again, we must understand *the word of God which endureth for ever*, or somewhat into which that word doth in special manner infuse life, or *Verbum caro factum*, the eternal Word as it is inveiled in flesh, but in flesh exempted or privileged from all corruption: for it is called *the word of God which liveth for ever*, not so much in respect of its own life, but in regard of its communication of life to such as are destitute of life. That this is the true scale of St. Peter's meaning we may gather from St. John's parallel paraphrase upon the same 700
words of the prophet Isaiah: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God*, &c. *And he*

came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power (or *right*) *to become the sons of God, even to them which believe on his name.* But who are they that rightly believe on his name? *Such as are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man,* (this is that which St. Peter saith, *not of corruptible seed,*) *but are born of God.* And whosoever is born of God, is questionless born of that immortal seed whereof St. Peter speaks. The further explication of this point will much depend upon the solution of these two questions: the first, in what sense we are said to be born of God; the second, when miserable and corruptible men were first so born. To assoil the later question in the first place; flesh and blood were not capable of this new birth, whereof St. John and St. Peter spake, until *that word of God, which endureth for ever*, that *Word which was with God, and was God,* by whom the world also was made, came into the world, and being made man was born of a woman. The holy patriarchs and prophets were true heirs of this glorious promise, but could not be real possessors of the blessing promised, before this time. But was the incarnation of the eternal Word to this purpose concludently foreprophesied by Isaiah in that fortieth chapter? Yes, this was the principal part of those glad tidings, which *the voice of him that cried in the wilderness* was to proclaim, as it is expressed, ver. 5: *The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.* The sight of it was to be a sight of life and comfort to all flesh: and this was the height of that comfort which the sight of this glory exhibited, that as they had been the miserable sons of mortal men, so they should become the sons of God, blessed for ever. Now it is evident out of other scriptures,

that no flesh could see the glory of God and live, save only as the brightness of it was to be allayed by a veil of flesh, through which the apostles themselves, not all, but Peter, James and John did behold it, as weak-sighted men do the splendour of the sun through a cloud. Hence saith St. John, (by way of comment or paraphrase upon the forecited fortieth of Isaiah,) ver. 5: *The Word was made flesh; and we beheld his glory,* (to wit, the glory of the Word of God which endureth for ever,) *the glory as of the only begotten Son of God, full of grace and truth. And of his fulness all that believe receive grace for grace.* When it is said that the Son of God was made man of a woman, this implies that he was as truly flesh of the woman's flesh, and bone of her bones, as the first woman was flesh of the first man's flesh, and bone of his bones. But in this the mystery of the first woman's creation is not finally accomplished. How was it then so accomplished? In this; that no sons of men, none that are born of a woman, can truly and really become the sons of God, until they become flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, who was not made the Son of God, but was the Son of God by nature, his only begotten Son before all worlds, the light and life of men. As then *the Word which in the beginning was with God,* and *the Son of God,* are but titles of one and the same person; so the *word of life,* and *the word of God which endureth for ever,* are but synonymal expressions of one and the same mystery, to wit, of the Word being made flesh, or become visible and sensible unto flesh. *That* (saith St. John) *which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our* 701 *hands have handled, of the Word of life; that we declare unto you. (For the life was manifested, and*

we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you even that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us. 1 John i. 1, 2. This life was always with God, but came not into the world, was not manifested to flesh and blood, until ὁ Λόγος, ***the Word,*** and Son of God was incarnate.

3. The same antithesis, or opposition which the prophet Isaiah makes between the mortality and frailty of flesh, and the immortality or everlasting duration of the Word of God, the psalmist makes between his own misery and fading estate, and the everlasting happiness of his Lord God; and from the contemplation of this opposition takes the same comfort to himself which the prophet Isaiah was commanded to minister unto God's people and unto Jerusalem: ***My days,*** saith he, psalm cii. 11, 12, ***are like a shadow that declineth; and I am withered like grass. But thou, O Lord, shalt endure for ever; and thy remembrance unto all generations.*** And again, vv. 25—27, ***Of old thou hast laid the foundations of the earth: and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.*** That this passage of the psalmist is literally meant of the eternal God, the Jews themselves cannot deny. And that it is meant of God incarnate, of the Son of God manifested in the flesh, St. Paul, in the first to the Hebrews, doth assure us Christians. For he allegeth this very place, ver. 10, to prove that Christ, God and Man, was far above all angels and principalities, and that after his enthronization as King he was to change this world which was made by him. The very literal meaning of the psalmist will enforce

thus much, that this place was to be meant of God, not simply or absolutely, but of God incarnate. For the eternal duration of the Godhead is not measurable by days or years, but the incarnation of the Son of God, or his duration in the flesh, may be accounted by number of years for the time past; yet are his years as man to continue without end, without any decay or diminution of that nature which he assumed. The psalmist foresaw his own interest in the numberless years of his Lord, whose happiness and immortality was the only comfort of his miserable mortality. The same comfort the author of psalm ciii. (whether he were the same with the author of psalm cii. or some other) takes to himself from the like contemplation of his own misery, and of the happiness of God incarnate: *Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are but dust. As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children; to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them.* Psalm ciii. 13—18. For the true interpretation, or application of this passage unto this present purpose, it is in the first place remarkable, that where in verse 13. we read *Jehovah*, or *the Lord*, the Chaldee renders it, *The word of the Lord hath pity on them that fear him:* in the second, that *the mercy of the Lord*, or of *the word of God*, verse 17, is τὶ τεχνικὸν[a],

[a] Christ is called *the mercy* or *gracious Saint of God*, psalm xvi. 10. Compare that place with the beginning of psalm cxviii, and psalm cxxxvi, and others, wherein it is repeated that *the mercy of the Lord endureth for ever.*

that is, a word or term whose full importance cannot
702 be had from any ordinary lexicon, unless it be such as is proper unto divinity. For it cannot be understood of that mercy or lovingkindness of God which was ordinarily manifested either towards mankind in general, or towards the people of Israel in particular. Every novice in the school of the prophets did know that this mercy of the Lord was perpetual. But what could it avail the author of this psalm to consider that this mercy of God had been manifested to his forefathers before his time, and should be to posterity in their several generations after him; what comfort could it afford unto *the children's children of such as feared him*, that this *mercy of God* should be reserved for them only after the same manner or measure which their forefathers had tasted, or had experience of it, and yet complain of their miserable and wretched estate for the present, and comfort themselves only in the expectation of that abundant mercy which they hoped afterwards should be revealed? The best exposition upon this place of the psalmist, or what is in special meant by *the mercy of the Lord*, or of *the word of God*, is given by St. Paul, Titus iii. 3—7: *For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.* Of this mercy and lovingkindness the patriarchs and prophets (as we said before) had the promise, but without all

hope of enjoying the thing promised for the present. It was not then the mercy of God, or Jehovah considered in the Godhead only, but the mercy of God to be incarnate, to be made King and Judge of the earth, which did so comfort these and other psalmists in their greatest distresses and perplexities, in all which they had just occasion to say, as St. Paul afterwards did, *If in this life only* (or, in the lovingkindness of God as it hath been experienced in our days) *we had hope, we were of all men most miserable,* 1 Cor. xv. 19.

4. That this place, though literally meant of God alone, was yet to be punctually fulfilled in God incarnate, or in the Word made flesh, besides this exposition of St. Paul, the very letter and circumstance of the text doth persuade us. For the expected comfort whereupon this psalmist pitcheth, is this: *The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens, and his kingdom ruleth over all.* And here again, whereas we read *the Lord,* the Chaldee reads, *the word of the Lord hath prepared his throne.* And in that it was *prepared,* it was not from eternity, though after it were prepared, to continue from everlasting to everlasting, that is (as we say) world without end. And this is that throne and that kingdom which Daniel foretold, that God long after his time would erect, Dan. ii. 44: *And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and that kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.* And of this throne you have a most exquisite description by St. John, Revel. iv. 1, 2, &c.: *After this I looked, and, behold, a door was opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will* 703

shew thee things which must be hereafter....And immediately I was in the Spirit: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold, &c.:...*The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever, and cast their crowns before him, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.* This praising of him that sat upon the throne was that whereunto the author of the ciiid psalm did solemnly invite the heavenly powers long before St. John had this vision. For after he had said, *The Lord had prepared his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all;* it follows immediately, *Bless the Lord, ye his angels, that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word. Bless ye the Lord, all ye his hosts; ye ministers of his, that do his pleasure. Bless the Lord, all his works in all places of his dominion: bless the Lord, O my soul.* That which our Saviour saith of Abraham was in its measure true of this psalmist; he also saw the day of Christ, the day of his glorious resurrection, that day whereof it is said, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,* and did rejoice in soul to see it, and his own interest in it, and assured hope of his inheritance in the heavenly kingdom.

5. But the vision of David to this purpose in that psalm, which, amongst some few others, bears the inscription of *Michtam,* '*David's* jewel or golden song,' (as some would have it,) is most punctually

clear: *Keep me, O God, for in thee do I put my trust:* that is, (as the Chaldee explains it,) *in thy word have I put my trust,* or hope for salvation, psalm xvi. 1: and ver. 2, *I have said unto the Lord, Adonai:* and again, ver. 8, &c., *I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope.* But here the eunuch's question unto Philip will interpose itself, *Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other?* I can no way brook their opinion, who think the psalmist speaks all this in the person of Christ, as his figure, but rather in this, as in many other psalms, and in the two last forecited especially, some passages there be which cannot be literally applied but to the psalmist himself, others which cannot be applied to any one but Christ, that is, to *God,* or *the Word incarnate:* and verse 9, *My heart is glad,* &c., contains a feeling expression of that joy or exultation of spirit which did possess all the faculties both of David's body and soul. But what was the object of this his exultation, or the ground of his joy? He expresseth it, ver. 10, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.* But the same question here interposeth again; *Doth he speak all this of himself, or of some other?* Whatsoever may be thought of the former clause of that verse, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell,* (which, as some think, might be meant both of Christ and David, though in a different measure,) most certain it is, that the latter clause, *thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption,* was not literally meant of David, much less fulfilled in him, but literally meant of him alone, and literally fulfilled in him alone, whom David in spirit called

Lord, though he then foresaw he should truly be his
704 Son. This undoubted truth we learn from St. Peter, Acts ii. 29—31: *Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* And St. Paul, Acts xiii. 36, 37, more fully and more punctually to our animadversions upon this latter clause, expounds it thus: *David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption: but he, whom God raised again, saw no corruption.* In this, as in many other psalms, the comfort which did arise from the sweet contemplations was David's own, or the psalmist's, who foresaw that great mystery whereof we now treat, but the fountain of their comfort was Christ, or God incarnate, who was to be raised from the dead. David in this psalm did rejoice in heart, that albeit he knew his nature to be like the grass that withereth, albeit he knew his soul should be divorced from his body, yet this divorce he knew (by faith) should not be perpetual; that albeit he could not but expect his body, his flesh and bones should rot in his sepulchre, as the body and flesh of his forefathers, to whom he was to be gathered, had done, yet he foresaw in spirit, that even his body should at length be redeemed from corruption by the resurrection of that Holy One, whose body, though separated for a time from his immortal soul, was not to see or feel any corruption. Finally, though David

and other psalmists forecited (if others they were) did perfectly and explicitly foreknow that they were to die, yet had they as true implicit belief of that which our apostle explicitly delivers, Coloss. iii. 3, 4: that *their life was hid with Christ in God: that when Christ, who was their life, should appear, they should also appear with him in glory.*

6. To the former general query, 'in what sense we are said by St. John to be born of God,' we answer, that to be born of God, is all one with that of St. Peter, *to be born of immortal seed;* but what is that immortal seed whereof St. Peter saith we are born again? That, in one word, is the flesh and blood of the Son of man, who is also the Son of God. So he himself instructs us, John vi. 53—55: *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* That is meat and drink indeed which nourisheth us not to a bodily but to a spiritual and immortal life, which presupposeth an immortal seed. Unto all these ends and purposes, to our new birth, to our nourishment and growth in spiritual life, the flesh and blood of the *Word* or Son of God were consecrated by his sufferings upon the cross, and by his resurrection from the dead. He was, according to his human nature, both the Priest appointed to obtain these blessings, and to award them *ex officio;* and withal the sacrifice, by whose participation they are really and actually conveyed unto all that do or shall inherit the immortality of soul and body.

7. But if his flesh and blood be the seed of immortality, how are we said to be born again *by the*
705 *word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever?* Is this word by which we are born, the same with that immortal seed of which we are born? It is the same, not in nature but in person. May we not in that speech of St. Peter, *by the word*, understand the word preached unto us by the ministers who are God's seedsmen? In a secondary sense we may, for we are begotten and born again by preaching, as by the instrument or means, yet born again by the eternal *Word*, (that is by Christ himself,) as by the proper and efficient cause of our new birth. Thus much St. Peter's words in that place will enforce us to grant according to the letter. For having before declared, that the word of God (by which we are born again) *doth live and endure for ever*, he thus concludes; *and this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.* 1 Peter i. 25.

8. The gospel itself (taken in the largest sense) is but the declaration of the evangelists and apostles upon the prophetical predictions concerning the incarnation, the birth, the death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ. And Christ himself, who was put to death for our sins, and raised again for our justification, is *the Word* which we all do or ought to preach. The gospel written or preached by us cannot be *that Word, which by the gospel is preached unto us.* This *Word*, in the literal assertive sense, can be no other than *the eternal Word* or Son of God made flesh, and consecrated in the flesh to be the seed of immortality. And if we take the gospel, not according to the outward letter or bark, but for the heart or substance of the gospel, or for the glad tidings of life, (which is the primitive signification of this word εὐαγγέλιον, or

gospel,) that is no other than *the Word made flesh,* or manifested in the flesh. To this purpose saith our evangelist, or rather the angel of the Lord, Luke ii. 10, *Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people:* (this is no more than the prophet saith, *All flesh shall see the glory of the Lord.*) *For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* Lord he was long before, and this *Lord* was made flesh before that day wherein he was born, but first manifested in the flesh upon that day, and manifested to be the Saviour of all people, or all flesh, some eight days after, yet not then completely made Christ until his resurrection. Again, the gospel, in its prime or principal sense, is no other or no more than the great mystery of godliness which was inwrapt in the volume of Moses and the prophets, but not revealed or unfolded until *the Word* was made flesh, was circumcised in the flesh, and made King and Christ: *Without controversy,* saith St. Paul, 1 Tim. iii. 16, *great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.* All these testimonies put together amount to this point, that the Son of God, manifested in the flesh, was *that Word* which, in St. Peter's language, *is preached by the gospel.* And if we do not preach *this Word* unto our hearers, if all our sermons do not tend to one of these two ends, either to instruct our auditors in the articles of their creed concerning Christ, or to prepare their ears and hearts that they may be fit auditors of such instructions, we do not preach the gospel unto them, we take the name of God's ambassadors, or of the m the gospel, more than in vain.

9. Besides all these testimonies, and others that might be alleged, all most undoubtedly true in the literal assertive sense, that the mystery of godliness, or
706 the joyful tidings which Abraham's seed did expect should consist in the union between the eternal Word or Son of God and our flesh, we have a most lively character or prefiguration (though not assertive) in the original word designed by the wisdom of God to express the preaching of the gospel or joyful embassage of our everlasting peace. For one and the same word in the original doth signify *flesh*, and *the preaching of glad tidings unto all people* or *flesh*, without variation of any radical letter, but only of grammatical mood or declension בָּשָׂר, according to the use of the original language, doth properly signify *flesh*, that is, men or creatures endued with life or sense, and being the root or primitive is not a verb but a noun. The first verb that is formed of it doth signify as much as the Latin *nunciavit* or *nunciare*, to bring or deliver a message, and is always used for some good or joyful message, and in peculiar for the preaching of the gospel, which is the joyful message κατ' ἐξοχήν: as, to omit other places, it is thus used, Jer. xx. 15: *Cursed be the man that brought tidings to my Father,* מְבַשֵּׂר בְּשַׂר אֶת־אָבִי, *saying, A man child is born unto thee; making him very glad.* And in the forecited Isaiah xl. 9: *O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high*
מְבַשֶּׂרֶת *mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God.* And in Isaiah lxi. 1, which is the very place wherein the preaching of the gospel by our Saviour himself is foreprophesied, that which St. Luke expresses, chap. iv. 18, by *preaching the gospel to the poor*, is in the original לבשר עניים, *evangelizatum*

pauperes. Now that *flesh,* and *preaching of glad tidings to all flesh,* should be signified by one and the same original word, no grammarian can easily give any reason: it falls not within the compass of their etymologies or derivations; there is not here a primitive and derivative, not a principal and an analogical sense. The true reason that may be given for it is, that the wisdom of God did thus foreordain it: that so this great mystery of the eternal Word's becoming flesh might be foreshadowed as well by verbal character, as foretold by express prophetical testimonies, delivered by way of propositions, or prefigured by real types in the law, or in matter of facts in sacred history.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the true Meaning of this Speech, the Word was made Flesh: *Whether it be all one for* the Word *to be made Flesh and to be made Man, or whether he were made Flesh and made Man at the same Instant?*

BUT it being granted (and I hope sufficiently proved) that the incarnation of the Word is the very life and kernel of the gospel; that the patriarchs and prophets did solace themselves, and taught their children's children to do the like in all their perplexities, by assured hope of this great mystery in the Lord's good time to be revealed; yet the curious fancies of captious wits have been and will be ready to question, though not the matter or mystery itself, yet the manner of our evangelist's expression of it, *the Word was made* 707
flesh. To be made flesh is to be made a substance, and *the Word* which is said to be made flesh was more than a substance, the ever-living essence, the life and light of men, before he was manifested in the flesh. Doth he still remain so? So we Christians are

bound to believe. Yet, might the Jew or mere heathen artist have liberty to oppose us, they would find matter of argument to this or the like purpose: 'Whensoever one substance is truly made another, the former substance ceaseth to be what it was before.' For the truth of this general rule, instances are plentiful in all sorts of substances which are said to be made what they were not before: when one simple element is made another—when the water becomes a vapour it ceaseth to be water—when the vapour is made a cloud it is no longer a vapour—when the cloud resolves into rain it is no more a cloud—when of the elements any third body is made, whether perfectly or imperfectly mixed, they cease to be what they were, they lose both their form and names. Nor skills it whether one substance be made or becomes another, which before it was not by course of nature, or immediately by the finger of God, or by the exercise of his miraculous power. For it was a true miracle, and a great one, that pure water should be immediately made perfect wine, and yet the water being made wine did cease to be what it was before; it was no longer a simple element, but a true mixed body. Now *the Word* (as all Christians grant) was an everlasting essence, more than a substance, before it was made or became flesh. How then can we Christians maintain that it still remains the same it was, without any real alteration or change, whether substantial or accidental? To this objection we reply, as before we have done in other cases, that multitude of instances, how many soever, cannot make up a perfect induction, if in any one, pretended for grounding a rule or proposition absolutely universal, there be the least diversity or dissimilitude of reason. Every such diversity or disparity acquits the instance in which it is found, for being comprehended under the rule or

law, otherwise universal. Admitting it then to be universally true of all other substances or essences in the world besides, 'Whensoever one is made or becomes another which before it was not, that substance which is made another doth lose itself, or ceaseth to be what it was;' yet this universal rule will not reach the instance now in debate concerning *the Word's being made flesh*. The reason is plain, not from the manner of this miraculous work, but from the nature or supereminency of that everlasting substance or essence which was miraculously made flesh. All other essences or substances which are capable of being made, or becoming what they were not, are capable of change or alteration in their substances. They do not either lose their own names, or suffer the names of other substances to be put upon them, until they have put off their own natures, or lost possession of themselves. The law of nature ties even lifeless substances more strictly not to change their names until they be conquered, or overcome by others, than the laws of heraldry tie nobles or gentlemen not to alter their ancient arms or names, which they seldom do, unless upon conquest, or some marriage or alliance, beneficial or advantageous to their house or family. But *the Word* of God, which endureth for ever, was and is as unchangeable as God himself; was and is from eternity, more than all things, essence or being itself. As all things were made by him, so he might when he pleased be made flesh or man without any change or 708
alteration in himself, either whilst all things were made by him, or whilst he were made this particular. It is then the preeminence or superexcellency of his nature or essence which exempts him from the former general rule or pretended induction.

2. For the more commodious expression, as of divers

other supernatural mysteries or matters spiritual, so of this great mystery, especially the fittest resemblance which can be made of them, must be borrowed, not from experiments or inductions in matters physical, but from cases of civil use or consequence. Mutations accidental there may be many, physically accidental in one and the same substance, without any alteration in the substance in which such change is made: yet such changes of accidents, properly inherent for the most part, either add some perfection to the substance, or detract somewhat from it. But for a person already invested with honourable names or titles, and with realities answering to them, to invest himself with realities or titles of an inferior rank, is no disparagement to his former dignities. Thus many princes by birth, and of great possessions, sometimes take the names or titles of knights, are solemnly made knights, created earls, sometimes made gentlemen of Venice, and some kings of this land have been made free of particular companies or corporations under their royal jurisdiction, and so made without any impeachment or diminution of their royal titles, but only to the grace or advancement of that order whereof they were made knights, or of those societies and corporations whereof they were made free. And thus, although *the Word*, who before the beginning of time was with God, was truly God, was in the fulness of time made flesh, this can be no impeachment to his Deity or divine person, but an unspeakable exaltation or advancement of the human nature which he took upon him. And herein we poor miserable men (so we would be thankful for it) have a preeminence of the angelical nature, in that the Son of God, God blessed for ever, did vouchsafe to become one of our order and rank, in such a manner as he is not of theirs.

3. The resolution of the second query depends upon another more questioned point, which I have no mind to dispute, and less to be tied to other men's conjectures, or voluntary determinations of it without warrant of scripture, or any certain deductions from it, warrantable by reason. The point questionable is briefly this, whether the human soul of our blessed Lord was infused into his body immediately upon his conception, which (as the sacred text to my apprehension imports) was in a moment, and immediately upon the blessed Virgin's assent unto the angel's message. If at the same instant or moment of time the human soul was inspired into his body, the Word was not made flesh before he became man. If otherwise, the holy seed did after the conception grow by degrees into a live sensitive reasonable substance, though neither after the same manner, nor by the same means, yet according to the same measure of time as other infants do. The case is unquestionable that the Son of God, or the Word, was made flesh before he was made man; for he was not made man before the inspiration or creation of the reasonable soul, but even from the very first moment of his conception the woman's seed was hypostatically united to the Word or Son of God. The flesh and blood which he took of the blessed Virgin became the flesh and blood of the 709
Son of God from the first moment of their assumption. Nor can this opinion be justly charged with any suspicion of error, or other difficulty, as containing nothing which is not exactly parallel to that which we believe concerning the union of his body with the divine nature in his person, after his body was separated from his soul. His body in that interim of separation, or of its rest in the grave, was as truly the body of the Son of God, as it had been whilst it was living. His soul

likewise was as truly the soul of the Son of God during the divorce, as it was whilst it retained union with its body. And whether the blood which was shed from his most precious body on the cross were gathered again into his veins, (a point not to be pried into by mortal men,) or however it pleased him or his heavenly Father to dispose of it, yet I think I may say that not a drop of it but remains unto this day the true blood of the Son of God; it lost no union nor degree of union with his divine person; it still retains the power and efficacy of cleansing or sanctifying our nature.

4. Some I know there be who think all others to speak and think unworthily of Christ, unless they grant that his soul was not only infused into his body in the first conception of it, but that it was withal endued with all manner of knowledge which he afterwards had. Yet to bind any man to believe or acknowledge either of these, (the latter especially,) is to lay more upon us than God hath in his written word or in the book of his creatures tied us unto, if so these men will give us leave to use the spectacles of reason in reading either book. For if our blessed Saviour, during all the time he was in his mother's womb, had the perfect use of sense and reason, his condition of life had been more wearisome than in any part of his pilgrimage here on earth it was; for he was as mortal, and as subject to sad impressions in the womb, as he was in the strength of his age: and death had been more welcome to him than such close imprisonment, if the exercise of reason or contemplation had been as free there as it was when he was endued with liberty of sense and local motion. The only reason I can conceive any man should pretend either for the infusion of the reasonable soul into his body at the first conception, or that the reasonable soul, whether then or at

the time wherein other infants become capable of it, should be endued with such a measure of actual or explicit knowledge whilst he was in his mother's womb, as afterwards it was, must be grounded on the hypostatical union between the woman's seed, and the Word of God. But if any reason thus grounded could infer either part of the premises, it would as well infer, that his knowledge as man should have been infinite from his conception. This, I think, no Christian will affirm; for the personal union of the divine nature with the human doth not endow it with the real titles of the divine; otherwise Christ's strength as man should have been infinite from the womb, and his body should have been every where. And it would be less unreasonable to say that his body is at this day infinite, and his human nature every where, than that his wisdom or knowledge as man should have been infinite, or as great whilst he was in the womb as now it is. If the divine nature did not communicate his infinity to the human, nor make the Son of God so complete a man for strength or ability of body from the womb as at thirty years he was, it exceedeth the bounds of my capacity to imagine what reason those men have for 710
their opinion, who think our blessed Lord and Saviour did not as truly grow in wisdom and knowledge, as he did in strength or stature of body. The scripture is alike literal for both, Luke ii. 52: ***Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and*** *in favour with God and* ***man.*** I make no question but that such as deny h[is] growth in wisdom, do this out of a religious fear, l[est] they should speak or conceive any thing of C[hrist] which might be thought either to derogate from [his] greatness or from his goodness. This fear or z[eal] care is in the general very good, but hath small [use] in this particular: for were it either well grou[nded]

well guided, it would rather teach us not to deny that Jesus did grow in wisdom and goodness, than to be peremptory in contradicting others which hold the affirmative. Simple nescience can be no sin in any child nor in any man, unless it be of those things which he is bound to know: but proficiency in wisdom and knowledge is in the sons of men a praiseworthy perfection, which I should be as unwilling to deny unto my Lord and Saviour in his infancy or his youth, as to rob him now of any royal attributes since he was made king. That he was without all stain of sin, the most holy sanctuary of the most holy and blessed God from the womb, I steadfastly believe: but that he had the same measure of knowledge at his circumcision, at his presentation in the temple, which he had and gave proof of when his parents found him in the temple disputing with the doctors; or no greater measure of this knowledge at his baptism than he then had; or as great at his baptism as since his resurrection and ascension he hath, I shall crave pardon for making these or the like any points of my belief. If any man be otherwise minded, I grudge him not the liberty of his opinion, but will confess my ignorance, when he shall shew me any express scripture, or any deduction out of scripture, which shall not infer *aut nihil, aut nimium.*

5. It sufficeth me to believe and know that my Lord was so qualified with all grace, even whilst he lived in the form of a servant, that he was always more ready to understand and comprehend whatsoever it pleased his heavenly Father to impart or signify unto him, than crystal is to receive the light of the sun, or any glass the shape of bodies which present themselves unto it; and more ready withal to do whatsoever he knew to be his Father's will he should do, than we are

to eat when we are hungry, or to drink in the extremity of thirst. There was in him, even in his cradle, a docility or capacity both for learning and doing his Father's will, truly infinite in comparison of other children; yet this capacity was actuated by degrees. This, I take it, is as much as we are bound to believe concerning his growth in wisdom; and this we cannot deny to be contained in the hypostatical union, of which we are without curiosity to say somewhat in the next place.

CHAP. XXX. 711

Of the hypostatical and personal Union betwixt the Word and the Flesh, or betwixt the Son of God and the Seed of Abraham.

THE manner of the union between the Son of God and the seed of Abraham is a mystery (that one of the blessed Trinity only excepted) most to be admired by all, and least possible to be exactly expressed by any living man of all the mysteries whose belief we profess in this Apostles' Creed. And for this reason my former resolution to avoid all school disputes about the relations in the Trinity, and each several Person's peculiar properties, ties me to the like observance in this present point. And in my younger days I had a greater desire to learn more exquisite rules of logic or other good arts out of school-disputes in these two kinds than can be found in the professors of such arts themselves, than I have in these declining years to learn divinity from them.

2. The particulars which the most subtle amongst the school-divines exhibit concerning the manner o the hypostatical union are well summed up by th learned and judicious D. Field, in whose computati they amount to more than I shall have occasion in

place to make use of: and are withal of so high a pitch and strain, as surmounts my aim or level for this time, which is only to shew how truly, how justly, how consonantly to the known rules of reason in other cases, we Christians believe and acknowledge such a peculiar union between the Son of God and the Son of David, that whilst the Son of man was conceived, born, crucified, and raised from the dead, the Son of God likewise was conceived, born, crucified, &c. Now for justifying these and the like expressions—the Son of God was conceived, was born, was crucified, &c.—(whether we find them in the Creed, or in the apostolic or evangelical writings, whence they issued into this creed,) we can have no better ground or fundamental resemblance than that of Athanasius: 'As the reasonable soul and flesh make one man, so God and man make one Christ:' yet this illustration, or expression of the manner of this mystical union is excepted against by some great divines, and by cardinal Bellarmine by name, yet excepted against, not as false or impertinent, but as defective. But if every resemblance of this or other sacred mystery, which is any way defective, were liable to exception, the church should do well to give a general prohibition that no man should attempt to make any: for all will come short of the mystery which we seek to express by them, or of so much of it as we shall know in that eternal school. It was the cardinal's fault to stretch Athanasius's expression further than he intended it, or not to allot it a certain extent, within which it is most divinely true.

3. The like comparisons sometimes hold firm and true only, *quoad veritatem, non quoad mensuram*, "according to the truth, not according to the measure of the same truth." As when we beseech our heavenly Father *to forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive*

them that trespass against us; or when our Saviour enjoins us *to be merciful, as our heavenly Father is merciful;* the meaning is not, that the measure of his 712
mercies towards us should be but equal to our mercy or kindness towards men our fellow-servants; and yet the meaning of our Saviour's injunction is, that we must be as truly merciful and charitable towards others in some degree, as God is infinitely merciful towards all. Sometimes the like comparisons are firm and true, *et quoad veritatem, et quoad mensuram,* both according to the truth and the same measure of truth, but not *quoad modum,* at least not *quoad modum specificum proximum, sed quoad modum genericum aut remotum:* true they may be sometimes according to the same manner, and yet not in all respects, or according to the selfsame particular manner. And such is this comparison of Athanasius. First it holds, *quoad veritatem unionis,* as it is not the mere inhabitation of the reasonable soul in the body, but the peculiar union of these two parts, which makes a man: so is it not the internal presence, or peculiar inhabitation of the Deity in the manhood, but the true and real union of these two natures, which makes one Christ. Infernal spirits may, by God's permission, take up their lodgings in the bodies of men, may be confined within them, and use them as their instruments; yet by such residence in them men neither become devils, nor devils men, nor do they make any one reality, or third thing in part or whole, distinct from both.

4. The former comparison doth not hold *secundum omnem modum;* that is, though the Godhead and humanity of Christ be as truly, as properly, and really united as the reasonable soul and the human body ar yet the manner of the union is herein different. T reasonable soul and the body being two distinct

tures, each having their proper existence, though imperfect and incomplete, do by their union make one perfect complete nature. Their union is made by physical or natural composition. Now in all such unions or compositions each part ingredient must abate or lose somewhat; there must be a mutual fashioning or fitting of the one to the other. But the Deity or Godhead, as it is all things else, so it is fitness itself, and cannot be fashioned or fitted to any creature, as being not subject to any shadow of change or alteration. The creatures may be fashioned or fitted to be more or less capable of his presence or participation: but this participation, in what degree, in what manner or measure soever it be had, includes no physical composition or confusion of natures. Thus much Athanasius, to prevent all captious exceptions against this similitude, had sufficiently expressed in the place forecited; "Though he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ: one, not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person."

5. Some philosophers there are, and have been, who although they grant a physical composition of matter and form in man, yet they deny the reasonable soul (the intellectual part at least) to be the form of man, or any part of the physical compound, which (in their philosophy) is prerequired to the constitution of man; not any proper part of his essence or nature. That visible live substance, wherein the reasonable soul during her pilgrimage here on earth doth reside as in a walking prison, is in these men's philosophy or divinity as formally distinguished by its mere organical faculties, or bodily senses, from all other living sensitive creatures, as any of them is from another. And

they are distinguished each from other only by the peculiar manner of the senses, or modification of their 713
organical faculties. The reasonable soul, or faculty of reason, is in this opinion rather the crown or diadem whereby man excels all other creatures as their king or governor, than the physical form whereby he is formally or specifically distinguished from them. According to this opinion, there should be in one and the same man two distinct complete natures, one bodily physical compound, endued with sense and subject to mortality, another rational and immortal. And these two natures make one man, not by physical composition, or union of matter and form, but by a peculiar subordination of the sensitive creature unto the rational, or of sense unto reason, as true, as firm and real, as the subordination of life is to sense, or bodily mixture is unto life or vegetation, but not by the same manner of subordination. If Athanasius's philosophy were of this mould, his comparison would be true *quoad modum:* however, leaving the examination of this opinion to the schools, let us examine his comparison *quoad veritatem et mensuram.*

6. Such philosophers as grant the reasonable soul to be a form truly physical, and an incomplete part of man's nature, do not for the most part affirm that it is propagated from the parents of our bodies, but created by God, as the soul of the first man was. And yet even these men who deny the reasonable soul to be *ex traduce,* do not avouch that only the bodily part or flesh of man is conceived, but the whole man, who consists of a reasonable soul as well as of a body. The full and perfect conception of every living thing includes not only a preparation of the bodily substance for receiving the soul, but, besides this, the unition of the soul (whether sensitive only or reasonable) with its

proper body. And seeing the proper nature of man consists especially in reason, there can be no perfect conception of man, as man, until the reasonable soul be seated in and united unto the bodily substance, fitted or organized for it. Whether that bodily substance were before this union endued with sense or no, is not much pertinent to the point now in hand. However philosophers may dispute that case, this position is proper and philosophical: 'Man doth beget man, and woman conceives man, although the reasonable soul, which is the principal part of man, do not take its original or beginning of being, either from the man that begets him, or from the woman that conceives and brings him forth, but immediately from God.'

7. This assertion likewise is Christian and theological: 'The blessed Virgin did truly conceive and bring forth Christ Jesus, God and man, the Son of God, and the Son of David:' albeit the divine nature, which is the excellency of Christ, did not take beginning from her, but was from all eternity without beginning, yet not united to the manhood till the conception wrought by the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb; though both assertions be most true, yet the ground of this theological assertion is more perspicuous and firm than the ground of the philosopher's assertion wherewith it is paralleled. We Christians may give a better reason of our faith and form of doctrine than the philosophers can give of their opinion, or manner of phrase in this point. First, in the conception of ordinary or mere men, the bodily substance, or the material part, hath a distinct existence of its own before it be united unto the reasonable soul, and the reasonable soul likewise hath a proper existence (at least in order of nature if not of time) precedent to its
714 union with its body. Nor is the union so perfect, as

to make simply but one existence of both: it is actually one, potentially two, and in the dissolution of body and soul they are actually severed: there is not then so much as coexistence, or existence of the one in the other. But neither the substance which the Son of God took from the blessed Virgin, nor the reasonable soul which was united unto it, had any proper existence before their union with the divine nature. The bodily substance assumed by his divine Person was a part of the blessed Virgin's individual nature, and had its whole existence in her before its assumption; but by the assumption it hath existence wholly in him, not as a part, but as an appendix to his divine Person. That which the philosophers or school-divines say concerning the creation of the reasonable soul, and its union with man's body, is more remarkably true of Christ's human soul. The reasonable soul, say the philosophers, *infundendo creatur, et creando infunditur*, is created by infusion, and is infused by creation. Christ's reasonable soul was not in order either of time or nature first created, then assumed, *sed assumendo creabatur, et creando assumebatur*, it was created whilst it was assumed, and it was assumed whilst it was created. Whether it were united to the body or flesh from the first moment of their assumption is an extravagant to this assertion. The substance likewise which our blessed Saviour took from his mother was not either in order of time or of nature first conceived or prepared by any prævial dispositions for the divine nature's habitation in it, and then assumed, *sed inter assumendum concipiebatur, et inter concipiendum assumebatur;* it was conceived by assumption, and assumed in or by its conception.

8. The next branch of this inquiry is, what is meant when we say, the fruit of the Virgin's womb was

assumed by the Son of God? This form of speech imports thus much at the least, that the Son of God, or the divine nature in his person, was to be partaker of flesh and blood as we sons of men are. So the apostle teacheth, Heb. ii. 14: *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.* This participation of flesh and blood with his brethren is but an expression of the assumption: *Verily,* saith the apostle, ver. 16, *he took not hold of the angels; but he took hold of the seed of Abraham.* The meaning of these expressions, as likewise of the original word, is, that albeit the angels were created by him, yet were they not so assumed, or so united to his person, as the seed of Abraham was and is. Nor is he partaker of their nature, or of any other nature besides, after such a peculiar manner, as he is of the human nature by assuming the seed of Abraham.

[a] Some school-divines and followers of Aquinas will

[a] In omnibus autem rebus creatis nihil invenitur huic unioni tam simile, sicut unio animæ ad corpus. Unde Athanasius in symbolo ait, Sicut anima et corpus unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Sed cum anima rationalis uniatur corpori dupliciter, uno modo sicut materiæ, alio modo sicut instrumento: non potest esse similitudo quantum ad primum modum unionis; quia tunc ex Deo, et homine fieret una natura, cum materia, et forma constituant propriam naturam specie. Relinquitur ergo, quod attribuitur similitudo, secundum quod anima comparatur corpori, sicut instrumento ad quod etiam dicta antiquorum doctorum concordant, qui naturam humanam in Christo dixerunt quoddam divinitatis instrumentum, sicut ponitur corpus organum animæ. Aliter enim se habet anima ad corpus (quod est proprium organum ejus): aliter instrumenta extrinseca. Hæc enim non est proprium instrumentum hujus hominis, sicut hæc manus cum per dolabram multi possit operari: sed hæc manus ad propriam operationem animæ deputatur, quia manus est instrumentum unitum et proprium, dolabra vero extrinsecum et commune. Sic in unione Verbi Dei, et hominis

have the former similitude of Athanasius to consist especially in this; that as the reasonable soul doth use the body of man, so the divine nature of Christ doth use the manhood as its proper united instrument. Every other man besides the man Christ Jesus, every other creature, is the instrument of God; but all of them such instruments of the divine nature as the axe or hammer is to the artificer which worketh by them. The most 715
puissant princes, the mightiest conquerors which the world hath seen or felt, could grow no higher in titles than Attilas or Nebuchadnezzar did—*malleus orbis et flagellum Dei*, hammers or scourges of God to chastise or bruise the nations. But the humanity of Christ is such an instrument of the divine nature in his person, as the hand of man is to the person or party whose hand it is. And it is well observed, whether by Aqui-

considerari potest. Omnes enim homines comparantur ad Deum, ut quædam instrumenta, quibus operatur; ipse enim est qui operatur in nobis velle, et perficere pro sua bona voluntate. Sed alii homines comparantur ad Deum quasi instrumenta extrinseca separata, nec moventur a Deo ad operationes proprias sibi, sed ad operationes communes omni rationali naturæ, ut sunt intelligere veritatem, diligere bona, operari justa. Sed humana natura a Christo assumpta est proprium instrumentum sibi unitum ad operandas operationes, quæ sunt propriæ, soli Deo convenientes: sicut sunt mundare peccata, illuminare mentes per gratiam, et introducere in perfectionem vitæ æternæ. Nec discrepat a rerum naturalium similitudine quod aliquid sit naturaliter instrumentum proprium alicujus, quod tamen non sit forma ipsius. Nam lingua (prout est instrumentum locutionis) est proprium organum intellectus, qui tamen (ut probat philosophus in tertio de anima) nullius corporis est forma. Similiter etiam invenitur aliquod instrumentum quod ad naturam specie non pertinet, et tamen ex parte materiæ competit huic individuo, ut sextus digitus, vel aliquid hujusmodi. Nihil igitur prohibet ponere unionem naturæ humanæ ad verbum tanquam instrumentum unitum et conjunctum. Nec tamen natura humana ad naturam verbi pertinet, nec verbum est ejus forma, licet pertineat ad ejus personam. Prædicta tamen exempla sic posita sunt, ut non omnimoda similitudo sit in his requirenda. Intelligendum est enim verbum Dei multo sublimius, et intimius humanæ naturæ uniri, quam quacunque alia instrumenta propria.

nas himself or no I remember not, but by Viguerius, an accurate summist of Aquinas' sums, that albeit the intellectual part of man be a spiritual substance, and separated from the matter or bodily part, yet is the union betwixt the hand and intellectual part of man no less firm, no less proper, than the union between the feet or other organical parts of sensitive creatures, and their sensitive souls or mere physical forms. For the intellectual part of man, whether it be the form of man truly, though not merely physical, or rather his essence, not his form at all, doth use his own hand not as the carpenter doth use his axe, that is, not as an external or separated, but as his proper united instrument: nor is the union between the hand as the instrument and intellective part as the artificer or commander of it an union of matter and form, but an union personal, or at the least such an union as resembles the hypostatical union between the divine and human nature of Christ much better than any material union wherein philosophers or school-divines can make instance.

9. These and the like speculations are neither unpleasant nor unprofitable, if so the reader will not restrain the former similitude of Athanasius only to this kind of union. But after what manner, to what special purposes, or what peculiar services the manhood of Christ is the instrument of his divine nature, (as the ancient for the most part unanimously affirm,) by God's assistance in other articles following, or in the mystical union betwixt Christ and his members. Thus much in this place, and for the present, may suffice, that the personal union between the divinity and manhood of Christ (though it be in itself more admirable than comprehensible or expressible) is more proper and firm than any union which can be made by

mixture, by confusion, by composition, or compaction of several natures into one. But what Athanasius meant in that expression of 'taking the manhood into God,' may (if I mistake not) to my present purpose (which is only to lay the general grounds of these communications of properties which divines, whether ancient or modern, observe between the divine and human nature of Christ) be yet further explicated by answering the main objection that can be made against Athanasius' similitude, or these illustrations of it.

10. Some haply will object, (and it is all, I think, 716 that can be objected against us,) that as we are, such is our flesh, such is our blood. We are by nature men, and our flesh and blood is by nature only human, or the flesh and blood of men; but if the flesh and blood whereof the Son of God is partaker be as truly his as our flesh and blood is ours, shall they not be such as he is, that is, flesh and blood truly divine not human? This must in no wise be granted, otherwise the Son of God should not be (as the apostle avoucheth he is) partaker with us of *the same flesh and blood.* The flesh and blood which he assumed and was partaker of, are as truly human as man's flesh and blood are, and of the selfsame nature that man's flesh and blood are of: and of such flesh he was to be as truly, as properly partaker as we are. And yet it is necessary that the same flesh and blood which he assumed be as truly and as properly the flesh and blood of the Son of God, (who is by nature God blessed for ever,) as our flesh is the flesh, or our blood the blood of the sons of men. Otherwise, albeit the flesh and blood assumed by him had been as truly and as properly human flesh and blood as ours is, yet could not the Son of God have been as true and proper a partaker of human flesh and blood as we sons of men are. For no party or person

can as truly and really participate with another in that which is not his own by as perfect right as it is the other's who is partaker of it with him. So then the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ was truly and properly *caro humana, non divina; sanguis humanus, non divinus;* not divine but human flesh and blood; and yet withal as truly and properly *caro Dei,* and *sanguis Dei,* the flesh and blood of God, as it was *caro humana, sanguis humanus,* human flesh and human blood: more properly the flesh and blood of God, than the flesh and blood of man. For even the whole humanity of Christ, as well the reasonable soul as the flesh, was and is the humanity of the Son of God: *God,* saith the apostle, *hath purchased the church* τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι, *with his own proper blood.* Acts xx. 28. Now if the church be God's own, not by creation only, but by true purchase, then the blood by which he purchased it was as truly his own, as our blood, or any thing within us or without us which we can own, is ours. But was it God's own blood after the selfsame manner or measure that our blood is ours? It was not in every respect or after every manner his own so as our blood is ours, yet his own by a more proper, more full and sovereign title, than our blood is any way ours.

11. Our flesh and blood may be said to be our own in two respects, either as it is a part of our nature, or an appurtenance of our person. In this last respect the fruit of the Virgin's womb was the Son of God's own substance, the flesh and blood which he took from her were his after a more exquisite manner, or in a fuller measure of the same manner, than our flesh and blood are our own. Or if we would speak the language of philosophy herself rather than of philosophers, or of such as profess themselves to be her followers, though ofttimes (as we say) afar off, our flesh, our blood, our

limbs, are said to be our own, not so much or not so properly as they are parts of our nature, as in that they are either parts or appurtenances of our persons. That which is immediately annexed or linked unto our person is by a more peculiar and sovereign right our own, than any things whatsoever besides we do possess or are lords of, be it lands, goods, or servants: for whatsoever we possess, being not thus annexed unto 717
our persons, are but externals, their possession is communicable, their property may be so alienated as others may make as good use of them as we do. A man may be wronged in every thing that is his own whereof he is by just title possessed, but the wrongs done to a man in externals do not touch him so nearly as the wrongs done to his person, or to any part or appurtenance of it.

12. That there is a true and real distinction between the natures and the persons of men, or between things which are our own by union of nature, or by union unto our persons, may thus be gathered: Every part of our nature is either a part or an appurtenance of our person; but every part or appurtenance of our person is not a part of our nature. A man may suffer gross personal wrong without pain or damage to any part of his nature, without loss of any commodity that could be made of that wherein he suffered wrong, it being (in itself considered) uncapable of wrong. As in case some joint or part of a man's body be dead and withered, irrecoverably deprived of sense, of pain, of vital motion, it thereby ceaseth to be a part of the human nature, but it therefore ceaseth not to be an appendance or an appurtenance of his person. He that should disfigure, mangle, or otherwise handle such a dead member any otherwise than the party whose it is were willing to have it handled, doth wrong his person

in a higher degree than if he mangled or maimed his live goods or cattle: and yet however he handle it, he puts the living party to no pain, it being (as it is supposed) no natural or sensible part of his body, nor could it have yielded any commodity, though it had been cut off before it was disfigured. Offences of this nature are not to be valued according to the excellency of the physical complexion or constitution of the bodily part wounded or contumeliously handled, but according to the excellency or dignity of the party whose flesh or substance it is that is wounded or abused; whether it be an entire live part of his nature, or an appendix only to his person, as being a joint or member in part maimed or deprived of sense before. Generally, whether we speak of men's actions or sufferings undertaken for our behoof, to the loss of blood or limbs, we are not to value the one or other so much according to the physical property or natural worth of the member lost or damnified, as according to the dignity of the person which voluntarily undertaketh such hard services for us. And thus we are to rate as well the indignities and pains which our Saviour suffered in body by the Jews or Roman soldiers, as the anguish of his soul in that great conflict with the powers of darkness, neither according to the excellency of his bodily constitution, or exquisite purity of his soul, but according to the inestimable dignity of his divine Person, of which as well his immaculate soul as his undefiled body were no natural parts, but appurtenances only.

13. Lastly, that proper blood wherewith God is said to have purchased the church, was the blood of the Son of God, the second Person in Trinity, after a more peculiar manner than it was the blood either of God the Father or of God the Holy Ghost. It was

the blood of God the Father or of God the Holy Ghost, as all other creatures are, by common right of creation and preservation. It was the blood of God the Son alone by personal union. If this Son of God, and High Priest of our souls, had offered any other sacrifice for us than himself, or the manhood thus personally united unto him, his offering could not have been satisfactory, because in all other things created, the Father and the Holy Ghost had the same 718
right or interest which the Son had, he could not have offered any thing to them which were not as truly theirs as his. Only the seed of Abraham, or fruit of the Virgin's womb which he assumed into the Godhead, was by the assumption made so his own, as it was not theirs, his own by incommunicable property of personal union. By reason of this incommunicable property in the woman's seed, the Son of God might truly have said unto his Father, 'Lord, thou hast purchased the church, yet with my blood:' but so could not the man Christ Jesus say unto the Son of God, 'Lord, thou hast paid the ransom for the sins of the world, yet with my blood, not with thine own.'

719 SECTION IV.

Of the Conception and Birth of our Lord and Saviour the Son of God: of the Circumcision of the Son of God, and the name Jesus *given him at his Circumcision; and of the fulfilling of the Types and Prophecies concerning these Mysteries.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The enigmatical Predictions concerning Christ's Conception unfolded by Degrees.

THAT the predictions of the prophets, which the Jew acknowledgeth for sacred, are of divine infallible authority; that according to many of these prophetical predictions, God in the person of the Son was to become man, the eternal Word was to be made flesh (that is, to have our flesh and nature so united unto him, that whilst our flesh and nature was conceived and brought forth, the Son of God was also conceived and brought forth; whilst the man Christ Jesus did suffer in the flesh, the Son of God did also suffer); this is the brief sum or extract of all that hath in this treatise been delivered. This is the foundation of faith as Christian, the radical article of Christian theology. It follows in our Apostles' Creed, that "this only Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary." The name *Jesus* was given him at his circumcision, and comes there to be handled. So was not the name *Christ*, but as often as the evangelists so instyle him before his resurrection from the dead, it is by way of anticipation; for he was made Lord and Christ at his ascension into heaven, though anointed to his prophetical office

at his baptism, (from which time he did declare himself by word and deed to be the Prince of prophets,) yet not then consecrated, much less admitted to the function or exercise of his everlasting Priesthood: not then enthronized King of kings and Lord of lords: these royal titles were accomplished in his resurrection and ascension. The point for the present to be handled is, how the conception and birth of the Son of God, the Lord God of Israel, was foretold or foreshadowed, and how accomplished for the substance, how manifested by the signs of the time, or circumstances concomitant.

2. The conception and birth of the Son of God, with other mysteries which concern his person and offices, were purposely foretold and forepictured from the fall of our first parents, until the sacred canon of the Old Testament was finished, yet not foretold or forepictured in the same measure, or after the same manner, 720
in every age of this long succession. The first predictions or representations of these great mysteries were enigmatical and implicit, but for the most part unwrapped and branched in succeeding ages. The later representations bear the same proportions to the most ancient, that maps of particular countries bear unto more general, or chorography unto geography. In a map of the whole world, though accurately drawn, we shall hardly find any exact proportion of these British islands, no such distinct evidences of the several provinces of this island, as are usually represented in a map of Europe of the same quantity. And it were in vain to seek so distinct a survey of every English shire or county in a map of Europe, as we have in our ordinary maps of England: but if we descend to chorographical platforms of every several shire, every one that knows how to use them may find the distinct place of his birth, breeding, or dwelling.

The first and most general map of mysteries concerning Christ, or of the Word to come, is that often mentioned, Genesis iii. 15, *I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed*, &c. Yet without some further dilatations or representations of this promise made by the prophets, it were impossible for the wit of man to discover any true proportion of those great mysteries which the evangelists relate, although all of them were contained in this, as in their first head or fountain, or as most chorographical descriptions are in the cosmography of the universe. Very probable it is, that our mother Hevah did from this promise conceive that the seed promised should be *Vir Jehovah*, a man, which should be likewise the Lord God. But questionless she did not imagine, much less believe, that this man, the Lord, should be conceived and brought forth of a pure virgin, for such she herself was not when she uttered that speech, *Possedi virum ipsum Jehovah*, as Fagius[a] upon several revises reads it. Nor could the parents of Noah imagine that their son should be so conceived or born, although (as many good authors think) they mistook him, as Hevah did Cain, for the promised woman's seed; presume they might without presumption, that the promised Messias was to proceed from *him* according to the flesh, but seeing Noah had more sons than one, it was not to him, or to others then living, distinctly represented from what branch of his stock he should proceed, until Noah, by divine instinct or inspiration, did bequeath the birthright unto Sem; but Sem had many sons, and his posterity was great, and it is not probable that Sem himself did know from which of them the promised seed should issue, until the blessing which Noah bestowed on Sem,

[a] In his Comments upon the four first chapters of Genesis, and in his Collations.

was by God himself (and perhaps by Sem as God's ambassador) bestowed on Abraham, unto whom the former mystery concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, was more distinctly represented, both by word and fact, than it had been to any of his ancestors. He doubtless did conceive that the *Seed* in whom all the nations of the world were to be blessed, should be God, the Son of God, be born after a more miraculous manner than his son Isaac had been: but Abraham's seed by Isaac became more numerous than any man's before his time had been, and was divided into twelve tribes. In which of these twelve tribes the promised Seed was to be sought for, was as uncertain and as undistinct, as if we should seek for the topography of some particular town of England in an ordinary map of Europe. Jacob on his death-bed points at his parentage in this generality, (Gen. xlix. 10,) that he was to spring out of Judah. But God by his Spirit 721
directs the church to seek him in the genealogy of Jesse and David in the land of Judæa. David himself had a distinct representation that he should not be his Son only, but that he who then was his Lord should become his Son, and be made priest after the order of Melchisedec; and no doubt but David conceived withal, that this his Lord and Son should be born of a virgin, not begotten by any man; for thus much the Holy Spirit which spake to him hath literally charactered unto us in that speech, psalm cxxxii. 11, *Of the fruit of thy womb will I set upon thy throne*, &c. The same mystery, or the performance of this promise made to David, is more distinctly unfolded by Isaiah, chap. vii. 14: *The Lord himself will give you a sign; Behold, the virgin shall conceive*, &c. But whether this long expected Son of David should proceed from Solomon or any of his race, or from the race or lineage

of some other son of David, this was not represented (for aught we read) either unto David or Isaiah; and sure the author of psalm lxxxix. (whether David, or rather some later prophet) was nescient of this particular, and the interruption or extinction of Solomon's line was (I take it) first revealed unto Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the accomplishment of their prophecies (of Ezekiel's especially) first acknowledged or observed by the blessed Virgin in her *Magnificat*[b]. In David's time the place of his conception and birth were not discovered. Isaiah[c] first points at the place of his conception in particular, but enigmatically[d]. Jeremiah describes the place of his conception more plainly, yet in a far greater generality. That he was to be conceived in the land of Ephraim, as it was divided from Judah. Yet haply if Herod had asked his scribes and others where the King of the Jews was to be conceived, it is questionable whether they could so clearly have resolved him of the place of his conception, as they did certify him of the distinct place of his birth. This they learned out of the prophet Micah, ch. v. 2.

3. That of our apostle, Heb. i. 1, is exactly verified in respect of the article now in handling. The prophets and holy men of God, or God by their ministry, spake of our Saviour's conception and birth, πολυμερῶς, not at sundry times only, or in several ages of the fathers, but *piecemeal*, or by scattered predictions, πολυτροπῶς, sundry ways, sometimes literally and plainly, sometimes mystically or enigmatically. ***But in this latter age he hath spoken unto us by his Son***, (or ***in his Son:***) for even the historical passages of his conception and birth, though delivered unto us by his evangelists,

[b] Luke i. 52.
[c] Isaiah xi. 1. liii. 2.
[d] See the treatise of Christ's Answer to John, and Nazareth and Beth-lehem.

were spoken ἐν Υἱῷ, his very conception, his birth and actions, as well as the words uttered by him, have their plain and full language, and if we take them as set down by the evangelists, are as the putting together of all what the prophets had spoken scatteredly, or represented by broken pictures or portions of truth. After that main head or fountain of prophecies was opened, and had his course drawn by God himself, not by any prophet, *I will put enmity between thee and him*, &c., every succeeding age (especially from the deluge) adds some new rills or petty streams unto it, the full current of which is conspicuous only in the gospel.

CHAP. XXXII. 722

St. Luke's Narration of our Saviour's Conception and Birth, and its exact Concordance with the Prophets.

To begin with St. Luke's narration of his conception, chap. i. 26, 27: *In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary.* In these few lines we have the exact chorography of those general or more obscure descriptions which Isaiah and Jeremiah had made of the place of his conception; and in the words following we have the particular and most exact survey of all God's promises made to David, or related by other prophets concerning that Son of David, who was to rule over Jacob for ever. When St. Luke saith in the words forecited, *the angel Gabriel was sent in the sixth month*, this may refer either to the time of John Baptist's conception, (as in all probability it doth,) ver. 36: *Behold, thy cousin Elisabeth, she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren:* or it

may refer unto the sixth month of the year, according to the ancient and civil accompt of the Hebrews: for until the time of Israel's delivery out of Egypt, the month wherein John Baptist was conceived, (which answers for the most part to our September,) was the first month in which (as most later divines are of opinion) the world was created. The month Abib (which answers unto March with us) became observable to the Israelites from their deliverance in that month out of Egypt, and continues in their ecclesiastical accompt the first in order. In the same month the conception of our Lord and Saviour was denounced by the angel, and our deliverance by him from the powers of darkness afterwards accomplished, and well deserves the title of the first month since his conception and passion: but in whether of these two respects, or whether in both, the month wherein the angel was sent be termed the sixth month, is no matter of such moment or consideration as the tenor of his message, vv. 31, 32: *And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name* JESUS. *He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.* When the angel said, *He shall be great, and his mother shall call his name* JESUS, it is implied, that as yet he was not great, that he had not the beginning of that greatness which is here promised. And may it not be as rightly implied, that when he saith, *He shall be called the Son of the Highest,* as yet he was not the Son of the Highest, but first to brook the name of Jesus, and then first to be *made* and called the Son of God, when he was become great, and had received the throne of his father David? But it is not without observation, that the angel saith not, *He shall be the Son of the*

Highest, nor doth he say that the blessed Virgin his mother should bestow this name upon him, as *she* did the name of ***Jesus***. The intent and meaning of the Holy Ghost in this place is, that this fruit of the Virgin's womb, who was to be named *Jesus* by his mother from his circumcision, should be called *the Son of the Highest*, not in regard of his future greatness 723
as man, or as he was the promised *Son of David*, but by reason of his peculiar *assumption*, or union into the person of the Son of God, who was David's Lord before he was conceived, and was publicly to be declared the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead. At which time, and not before, he took the especial government of that kingdom upon him, which had so often been promised to the Son of David. This meaning of the Holy Ghost the evangelist doth open unto us, ver. 33: *He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.*

2. Unless this *Holy* of *Holies*, who was now to be born of the blessed Virgin Mary, had been the Son of God before this time, he should in reason be called the Son of the Holy Ghost. For unto the Virgin Mary demanding *how this should be, seeing she knew not a man*, ver. 34; the angel answered, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee*, &c. An emphatical expression of that which we believe in the Creed, 'that the Holy Ghost should work his conception.' Now he who is author of the conception of any person, which before such a conception had no existence, is in propriety of speech to be reputed the father of the party or person conceived. But this very person whom we now adore under that name or title of *Jesus Christ our Lord*, being before all worlds the true and only Son of God, albeit the Holy Ghost was the author of his conception

as man, (a more principal cause and author of his conception, than any mortal father is of his mortal son,) yet was not the fruit of the Virgin's womb to be reputed the Son of the Holy Ghost, but of him alone who was the true and only Father of that Person, unto whom the fruit of the Virgin's womb was by the operation of the Holy Ghost personally united. The Holy Ghost was not then the cause or author of any new person, but only espoused or betrothed the human nature of Christ (which before had no actual existence) unto him who was the Son of God from eternity. Now not he that gives, but he that takes the spouse given in marriage is the true husband: and the spouse so taken, from her espousal becomes the daughter, not of him that gives her in marriage, but of the father of her husband, with whom she is now made one flesh. Thus God the Father (by this espousal thus wrought by the Holy Ghost) becomes the Father of the human nature of Jesus, which was now united unto his Son, after another manner than before he had been of any man; and after another manner than the Holy Ghost was or is the Father of the man Christ Jesus. Christ then, as God and man, is the only Son of God the Father: the same Jesus, only as man, is the Son of David.

3. That the promised Messias was according to the prophecies to be the Son of David is evident; but by what lineal descent he was to be the Son of David, or by what legal right the kingdom of David was derived unto him, is not without question amongst Christians. David, we know, by God's free donation, was king of Judah and Israel; and Solomon by legal right did succeed him in his kingdom. And Solomon's heirs or successors, by bodily descent, had as firm a title to the kingdom of David, as any other kings or monarchs have to the crowns and dignities of their ancestors.

But whether Solomon's line by bodily descent were utterly extinguished before the conception or birth of our Saviour, is a point neither much debated nor agreed upon by divines. If it were extinguished before that time, yet David's line did not determine with 724
Solomon's. And for this reason, haply, our Saviour is instyled by the Holy Ghost *the Son of David,* not so of Solomon, albeit Solomon was as true a shadow of him as king as David had been, and Solomon's kingdom and reign a fairer map of his kingdom than David's was. And though our Saviour's intermediate ancestors, according to the flesh, from David downward, were as many as St. Luke and more than St. Matthew relates, yet he did immediately succeed David in the kingdom. For so by the law of most countries, in case the elder brethren's sons or issues fail, the third or fourth brother succeeds as lawful heir, not unto his elder brothers, or their children, but to their grandfather or first donor. Many may be immediate heirs unto them to whom they are no immediate successors in lineal descent. That Solomon and his line had no such perpetuity bestowed upon them by virtue of God's covenant with David, as that it might not determine before the promised seed of David was exhibited, the tenor of that covenant (as it is exemplified by the author of psalm lxxxix.) puts out of question: *I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him.* ver. 20. *He shall cry unto me, Thou art my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation. Also I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him. His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.* vv. 26—29. This last he speaks of David's *seed* as of

one, not of his *seeds* as of many. For so it follows, vv. 30—32: *If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes.* This visitation with rods and stripes imports more than fatherly chastisements; true and real punishments; yea, heavy judgments upon David's other children according to their deserts. None are utterly exempted from God's heavy displeasure besides the promised *seed*, or David's *Son*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, whose prerogative is in the next words reserved by oath: *Nevertheless my lovingkindness will I not take from David, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips*, vv. 33, 34. This is in effect as if he had said, 'However David's other sons provoke me, I will not repent of that lovingkindness which I promised to him; it shall be accomplished in David's seed:' for in respect of things alterable or reversible, whether promised for the good of men, or threatened for their woe, God is usually said to repent; but to whatsoever he swears, of that he never repents: every event ratified by oath is either unalterable or irreversible: *The Lord hath sworn*, saith David, psalm cx. 4, *and will not repent*, that is, he will not change or alter that which he hath promised. To alter that which was only promised, but without oath, is in the phrase of the Holy Ghost (as we usually render the original) *to fail* or *break covenant*, that is, in more proper language, to reverse a blessing promised. Hence it is added, psalm lxxxix. 35, *Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David*; that is, I will not make void my covenant. *His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the*

sun before me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven, vv. 36, 37. This is that throne and that kingdom which the angel (Luke i. 32, 33.) foretold should be given unto the seed or fruit of the Virgin's womb. As for David's other children, or for Solomon's race, their title to the 725
temporary crown of David was at the first but conditional, or rather mutable: for every conditional estate presupposeth a state in being, but a state mutable or reversible. Such was the state of Solomon, or the heirs of his body, as well unto the kingdom of Judah as of Israel. The kingdom of Israel they utterly lost in the second descent. The next query is, whether this their estate unto Judah or Israel, which was by original tenor reversible, were, *de facto*, utterly reversed, and the covenant (as it concerned them) finally cancelled.

4. And of this query the branches are two; first, whether Solomon's line were utterly extinguished before the return of Judah from the Babylonish captivity, or in any age before the Son of God and the promised seed of David was manifested in the flesh? The second, whether in case the utter extinguishment of Solomon's line be a point doubtful, or by any authentic author or record indeterminable; this line were not in the same desperate case for recovering the kingdom, that Eli's race was for regaining the priesthood, from which it was by solemn oath deposed? That Solomon's line was utterly excluded from inheriting the kingdom of Judah and Jacob, the Jews and Christians for the most part agree: and the tenor of that terrible sentence against Jeconiah (according to the principles acknowledged by both) will infer no less: *As I live, saith the Lord, though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah were the signet upon my*

right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence; and I will give thee into the hand of them that seek thy life, and into the hand of them whose face thou fearest, even into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of the Chaldeans. And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born; and there shall ye die. But to the land whereunto they desire to return, thither shall they not return. Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are they cast out, he and his seed, and are cast into a land which they know not? O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah. Jerem. xxii. 24—30. This last clause is to me a concludent proof, that the man Christ Jesus was not of Jeconiah's seed, because he was to *sit upon the throne of David, and to prosper;* yea, to be the fountain of all prosperity to prince and people; and he that will avouch our Lord and Saviour to have been of the seed of Jeconiah will hardly be able to fend off that contradiction which his assertion directly includes, not only to the angel's promise, (Luke i. 33,) but unto the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxiii. 5, 6: *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and* PROSPER, *and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely,* &c. The man Christ Jesus is in this place (and elsewhere) instyled *the Branch of David,* or *a stem of the root of Jesse;* but nowhere a branch of Solomon, or of his seed, which (is most probable) did determine in Jeco-

niah, whom his uncle Zedekiah did succeed for a while in the kingdom of Judah, but with worse success. For Ezekiel's denouncement against him, and the crown of Solomon, was no less terrible than this of Jeremiah against Coniah: *And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end, thus saith the Lord God; Remove* 726 *the diadem, and take off the crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him.* Ezekiel xxi. 25—27. The contents of this denunciation (as I take it) are these especially, 'both the crown and the mitre (the ensigns of the royal and sacerdotal dignity) were so to be crushed, that neither should remain the same they were.' The mitre was to be cast anew, but in a far less mould; the crown to be broken, and the relics of it to be united to the mitre; both put together to remain but as models of that dignity which before they generally had, until the royal and princely dignity were united in him that had full right to both, that is, in the promised seed, or Son of David. The readings upon the 27th verse are various. The vulgar Latin (following the Septuagint) thus, *iniquitatem ponam eam:* the Zurich or Tigurine thus, *curvam, curvam ponam eam.* And if this reading be just and straight, it may serve as a character of that crooked descent and tortuous revolution of the civil and ecclesiastical power from one family unto another, not settling in any one line until the coming of the Son of David, unto whom both by right did belong. Yet some authority in all this tumble did still remain in the tribe of Judah (though not in the race of Solomon or of David) until Shiloh came. And I know not whether that cited

passage of Ezekiel, ver. 27, *It shall be no more* (to wit, the same that it was) *until he come whose right it is*, have not special reference to that prophecy of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 10: *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* The Septuagint seem to interpret the name *Shiloh*, according to the same importance that the original, (as our English hath it, Ezekiel xxi. 27,) *whose right it is*, as if Shiloh had been as much as *Asherlo, cui repositum est.* But whether, according to the ordinary rules of grammar, *Shiloh* may stand for as much as *Shello*, or whether the mystery contained in this prophecy might require or dispense with some irregularity in the grammatical form of speech, I leave it to accurate critics, or sacred philologers: and so I do another question, which is emergent as well out of the forecited words of Jacob as of Ezekiel, whether both prophecies were to be understood of Christ's first coming to judge Jerusalem? (unto which latter the words of Ezekiel seem most to incline, for so the original, *until he come to whom judgment belongeth.*) I rest contented with this part of the prophet Ezekiel's undoubted meaning, that neither the civil nor the ecclesiastic dignity of Judah were to be the same they were, until the coming of the expected Messias, and yet some relics of both to remain until his coming.

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5. Some of the priestly line after this people's return from Babylon did take upon them to exercise princely authority, (as the Maccabees,) but with more honour for a while than with good success for posterity. Others afterwards did attempt the like, but were put by it, yet permitted or authorized by the Romans to exercise the priestly function, some of them executed for their mutinous aspiring to the crown.

Lastly, when they became competitors for the royal dignity, it was collated upon Antipater, and from him derived (or suffered by Augustus to descend) on Herod the Great, in whose days the promised seed of David, the true heir unto the crown of Judah, was born. But though Herod did exercise royal jurisdiction over Judæa, as well as over other neighbouring provinces, 727
yet was he not created king over Judæa, this was no part of his royal title bestowed upon him by Antonius. The first solemn authorized title of king of Judah, from the captivity of king Jeconiah and Zedekiah, was that inscription written upon our Saviour's cross, written by Pilate's command so peremptorily, that the Jews could not get a change or reversion of it in any of the three languages wherein it was written, *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.* Pilate, I take it, did not in this inscription intend the scoff or scorn of our Saviour, or of the Jewish nation, but only the style or title of the crime for which our Saviour was indicted: he neither affirmed nor denied him to be the King of the Jews, but that which the world might conceive was written in jest or in scoff, the God of Israel made good in earnest, by making this Jesus, whom Pilate and the Jews had crucified, *both Lord and Christ*, that is, a far greater King than Cæsar himself, whom they acknowledge their only king.

6. Joseph his supposed father in all probability was dead[b] before this time of our Saviour's passion, so that the lineal right of the crown of David was now in Christ, as the only son of the Virgin Mary, who had no child by Joseph her husband, nor he any son by any former wife, so that the whole right unto the crown of David which either or both of them had,

[b] Otherwise our Saviour at his death would not have commended his mother unto St. John's care, but unto her husband's.

was by legal descent devolved upon this dying man, who after his great humiliation was to be more highly exalted, and in him alone that which was said by the prophet Ezekiel was accomplished, ***Exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high.*** And yet the same prophecy had been at several times verified or fulfilled in part before: and first, perhaps, in Jeconiah, who, after the debasing of Zedekiah his uncle by Nebuchadnezzar, was exalted above other captives by Nebuchadnezzar's son, Evil-merodach[c]. And again, more punctually (according to the prophet's meaning) in Zorobabel, and others of David's line, after Solomon's line was either extinguished or deposed; but more fully afterwards in the blessed Virgin, as she expresses her thankfulness for it in her sweet song, Luke i. 52: ***He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and the meek.*** Whether the blessed Virgin in her own right, or Joseph her husband's while he lived, were the next heir unto the crown of David, is disputed by others, unto whose determinations I have nothing to say in this place. Whatsoever right either or both of them had, was (I take it) derived from David by Nathan, not by Solomon or his successors. Joseph and Mary were heirs to the kingdom which Solomon did enjoy, though not of his seed; and so were Salathiel and Zorobabel, from whom they directly descended.

7. But whether her son should be the lawful heir of David was no part of the blessed Virgin's doubt or question to the angel. But how she should conceive a son, according to the purport of the angel's promise, that she questions, Luke i. 34: ***Then said Mary, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?*** To omit the idle fancies of some, who would hence collect

[c] 2 Kings xxv. 27, 28.

that the blessed Virgin had vowed chastity in single life, as if *I know not a man* had been as much as *I am resolved never to know man;* the truth is, that however she was at this time espoused unto Joseph, yet the marriage was not to be consummated till some competent space after the espousals, within which time she did rightly apprehend the conception foretold her by the angel was to be accomplished, or 728
rather from the very time of this present dialogue; and hence she demands how it was possible that she should instantly conceive, seeing she knew not a man; yet are not these words of distrust; they have no tincture of such incredulity or slow belief, as we find taxed in Sarah, and Zacharias father to John Baptist; yet were both Sarah, and Elisabeth the wife of Zacharias, types or shadows of the blessed Virgin's miraculous conceiving; so were Hannah and Samson's mother. The conception of all their sons (and they were respectively their only sons) was wonderful, and without the ordinary course of nature, peculiar blessings of him *that maketh the barren to be a joyful mother of children.* Sarah and Hannah, and John Baptist's parents, had been petitioners to the Lord of life for children, and had their petitions ratified, one by the priest, and others by the angel of the Lord. But Samson was promised to Manoah's wife by the angel of the Lord, without any petition on her part made to this purpose, and promised withal to be a deliverer of his people from the Philistines. And in this particular, or in the manner of the angelical annunciation, the birth of Samson was a more lively type of the birth of our Saviour, albeit this conception of Samson was not so strange as that of Isaac. That Sarah in her decrepit age should conceive a son was a matter incredible, and unparalleled in any age of the

world before or since, yet not properly miraculous: *Through faith* (saith the apostle, Heb. xi. 11.) *Sarah received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age* (either for conceiving seed, or for bringing it forth conceived, yet both she did), *because she judged him faithful who had promised.* The faith by which she conceived strength was the gift of God, and the strength which she conceived by this faith was such a wondrous effect, as these gifts which are attributed to the faith of miracles. But Sarah having received this strength by faith, the conception was according to the course of nature, *it was with her after the manner of women;* not so with the Virgin Mary, who became blessed by believing the angel: she did not receive strength to conceive seed; the performance of those things which were foretold by the angel were from the Lord himself: *unless she had believed she had not been established*[d]; yet her belief did not cooperate with the effect promised: that was the immediate work of the Holy Ghost by marrying part of her substance to the person of the Son of God, after a manner unknown to her: there was not first a marriage and then a conception, nor a conception first and then a marriage, both were accomplished at once.

CHAP. XXXIII.

St. Matthew's Relation of the Manner of our Saviour's Conception and Birth, and of the Harmony betwixt it and the Prophecies.

IT is well observed by divers good writers, that St. Matthew begins the genealogy of our Saviour Christ not from Adam, where St. Luke (*ordine retrogrado*) ends it, but (*ordine recto*) from Abraham,

[d] See Isaiah vii. 9.

because the covenant of the promised seed was first by oath established in Abraham's line, and afterwards 729
more particularly in David's, whose son and heir our Saviour was, though son by adoption or next heir in reversion unto Jeconiah, who was the last (as these authors think) of Solomon's line, the last at least that could pretend unto the kingdom of David. And though it be said in our Saviour's genealogy according to St. Matthew, that Jeconiah begat Salathiel, yet this cannot be meant of a natural begetting, but of a civil. He was the son of Salathiel in such a sense as the Holy Ghost useth, psalm ii. 7, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;* to wit, unto the kingdom of Israel; if this place be literally to be understood of David, (as the most probable opinion is,) though afterwards to be mystically fulfilled only in Christ, who is not only God's only-begotten Son from eternity, but his first-begotten from the dead, and so made King of kings and Lord of lords. But of these points in their due place.

2. *The birth of Jesus Christ* (saith St. Matthew, chap. i. 18—21.) *was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name* JESUS: *for he shall save his people from their sins.* In this narration some special passages are expressly the same with the former re-

lated out of St. Luke, as that our Saviour was conceived by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, or in the Virgin Mary. So St. Matthew, to denote that the blessed Virgin was no agent in this conception, saith, *that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost,* chap. i. 20.

This, I take it, is of the same character with that message of the angel unto the blessed Virgin herself in St. Luke, chap. i. 31 : Καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρί : *Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb,* not ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξεις, *thou shalt be with child, and bring forth a son ;* as the angel said unto the wife of Manoah, (Judges xiii. 3,) and to others which, beyond expectation or course of nature, did conceive and bring forth sons of promise. Both evangelists again expressly tell us, that the Virgin Mary was espoused to Joseph the son of David before the angel Gabriel did bring this message unto her ; hereby giving us to understand, that the works which the devil had wrought in our nature should in this particular (as in many others) be undone by God, after the same way and method that they were done by this his enemy. The first woman we know did conceive sin whilst she was a virgin, at least before she knew her husband Adam, who was the only man then on earth, for she was a virgin espoused from her first creation. This first woman conceived death by believing the serpent, and practising according to his counsel, before she had consulted her husband. The blessed Virgin did conceive the Lord of life by believing the angel Gabriel's message without consent or advice of her betrothed husband, who at the first suspected her loyalty, but afterwards (admonished by the Holy Ghost) did admit of her as his lawful consort, did permit her to enjoy all the privileges of a wife, and her Son the privileges

of his only son and heir, without any further knowledge of her as his wife.

3. St. Luke gives us the chronology of our Saviour's 730
birth more distinctly than St. Matthew doth: *It came to pass* (saith he) *in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed,* or *booked,* chap. ii. 1. The exact year from the giving of the law, or from the return of Judah from captivity, neither of the evangelists do meddle with in the story of our Saviour's birth, and for this reason I omit them. The other circumstances concerning the time wherein (according to the Roman account) he was born, with the place, were more useful for us, because these were or might have been known to all other nations, not to the Jews only, out of the Roman annals. It is agreed by all, that Jesus was born in the time of Augustus, and in the days of Herod the king. If any be desirous to know the exact year wherein he was born, the best rule for his direction in this search must be to find out the time of that tax or enrolment mentioned by St. Luke, chap. ii. 1, &c.

Now this taxing or enrolling was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria, and that (as all agree) was either in the beginning of the forty-second, or in the latter end of the forty-first of Augustus. Yet whether this taxing or enrolment of every person capable of such enrolment were not decreed or intended before by Augustus, though first put in execution whilst Cyrenius was governor of Syria, may admit some doubt or question: however, we are to calculate the time of our Saviour's birth from the time in which this decree was put in execution throughout Judæa, not from the time of the first design or in-

tention of Augustus to have such a tax or enrolment of all that were subjects to the Roman empire.

4. The Spanish nation, as well for their civil as ecclesiastic acts, did for a long time after they became Christians use a computation of years different from all other Christian states or kingdoms. For all besides them (as far as I have observed) begin their computation from our Lord's incarnation or birth, which was at the same time that this decree of Augustus was put in execution through Judæa. The Spaniards begun their *æra* (so they call their computation) some twenty-seven years more or less before this time, and, as sundry of their ancient writers think, from that time wherein Augustus did first resolve upon this taxing and enrolling of all the families under his jurisdiction, and that (as they allege) was first thought on and engrossed at Tarracone in Spain, after he had fully subdued the Cantabrians and others which had revolted from him in Spain.

5. But this most probable opinion of many ancient writers (as others of like nature usually do) suffers some prejudice by impertinent and disprovable allegations sought out for the confirmation of it: "First, the writers take it as granted, that the decree set forth by Augustus in Spain was for raising a general *tax* or *tribute* throughout all his dominions; that this tribute was to be paid in brass, a current coin amongst the Romans, as well for the payment of soldiers as for the discharge of civil contracts or mulcts wherein they were condemned." And from this supposition (which will not be granted them) these writers conjecture that the word *æra* took its original. Hence they call this decree of Augustus *ærea constitutio*, as if the word *æra*, which (in their language) is the computation of

times or years, were the plural (though not warrantable by Priscian) of the Latin *æs*, afterwards by common use made a noun singular. But this suppo- 731
sition itself, that the ἀπογραφὴ whereof St. Luke speaks should import as much as a general tax or tribute, is confuted by Sepulveda[a], a professed Spanish antiquary, and chronicler unto Charles the Fifth: and if his observations fail not, the Romans did not receive their tribute or taxes either in brass or gold, but in silver only. And because the imposition of tribute or tax is always ungrateful to conquered provinces or people, it is an opinion in Sepulveda's judgment void of probability, that the Spaniards should begin their computation of time from such a distasteful decree, but rather from the immunities or privileges which Augustus did bestow upon that nation. For so the Jews begin their *æra*, or computation of time, from their joyful deliverance out of Egypt, and from the restauration by Cyrus and his successors; as we Christians do ours from the birth or conception of our Saviour Christ. As for the Latin *æra*, that Sepulveda first, and divers other good writers after him, derive more properly from a mistake of ancient writers not so well acquainted as they might have been with the abbreviations used in the date of public civil acts. Now the ancient Spaniards did date such acts (as we do) by the reign of our kings, but they of Augustus especially after this manner, A.E.R.A, which stood for as much as *annus erat Augusti*, (suppose 20, 30, 40, &c.) But succeeding ages, ignorant of this manner of writing, putting the former scattered letters or syllables together, made one entire word of them, AERA, or ÆRA.

6. Yet to grant this learned critic all that he

[a] Vide Sepulvedæ Cordubensis de correctione anni mensiumque Romanorum tractatum.

demands concerning this point, he errs no less (to my apprehension) in his peremptory negative inferences, than those writers whom he refutes had done in their affirmative conjectures concerning the original of the word *ÆRA*, or the supposed occasion of it. His intended conclusion is, that this *ÆRA* or computation of time (which is peculiar to the Spaniards) hath no reference to the decree of Augustus mentioned by St. Luke, chap. ii, whereas Gerundensis[b], besides other good Spanish writers, brings positive proof that the ἀπογραφὴ whereof St. Luke speaks (were it a tax, or, as Sepulveda will have it, an enrolment or booking of several tribes or families, or of particular persons in every family) was projected by Augustus in Spain, immediately after he had subdued his rebellious people there, as presuming that all the world besides (at least all that did yield obedience to the Roman empire) had been quiet. But finding opposition in other countries beyond his expectation, he did defer the execution of the former decree until all were quiet within the empire; until bordering or neighbour countries had professed their desire of peace, or were admitted into a league of amity with the Romans. Now this being done, the decree was first put in execution throughout the whole empire, at the time (mentioned by St. Luke) of our Saviour's birth: *In those days* (saith St. Luke) *there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed* or *enrolled.* These words, *in those days*, may either punctually refer unto the days between our Saviour's conception and birth, or unto some longer time between the first setting forth of this decree or design of Augustus, and the execution of it. So St. Luke in chap. ii. 2, 3. tells us, that *this taxing* (or *enrolling*) *was first made when Cyrenius*

[b] Vide librum decimum Paralipomenωn Gerundensis Episcopi.

was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed (or ***enrolled***), ***every one into his own city.*** A thing, I take it, neither necessary nor usual among the Romans for gathering of public taxes or tribute, which might 732
be done either at the place of their dwellings, or in some chief cities wherein they were enjoined to pay them. Other Christian nations begin their *ÆRA* or computation of time from the execution of this decree, which falls upon the time of our Saviour's birth. The Spanish nation begun theirs from the first setting forth or design of this enrolment, which jumps with the time of Augustus' gracious reign over them, and their admission into his special favour.

7. The deferring of the execution of this decree, upon the occasions mentioned by Gerundensis and other Spanish writers, is most agreeable to the admirable course of God's proceeding in like cases, whose pleasure it is to dispose and order the projects of greatest princes either quite contrary to their intentions, or to divert them from the point at which they level unto the punctual fulfilling of his will revealed, or the predictions of his prophets. Had Augustus gone on with his former purpose of enrolling all his subjects instantly after his victory upon the Cantabrians, there had been no public record that Joseph and Mary were of the lineage of David, the blessed Virgin being at that time, according to the common calculation of her years, unborn, at least uncapable of the espousals, or of enrolment: for (as I take it) the Romans did not intend to enrol children or infants. Or if in any years intercurrent between the beginning of the Spanish *ÆRA* and that point of time which St. Luke mentions, the former decree had taken effect in Judæa, the Son of David had not been brought forth in the city of David. For neither had Joseph

or Mary any other purpose or occasion to visit Beth-lehem, besides obedience to the emperor's decree for their enrolment at the prime seat of their family, and perhaps for paying some head-silver, or admission money. But God in his unsearchable wisdom devolves the execution of Augustus' intention or purpose upon this very point of time, to the end it might appear upon authentic record, that both Joseph the supposed father, and Mary the undoubted mother of our Lord and Saviour, (unto both whom he was the true and lawful heir,) were of the stock and lineage of David, and that this promised seed of David, and branch of Jesse, which had come into his mother's womb in Nazareth, might come into the world in Beth-lehem, where David was born and Jesse dwelt. It is not probable that the Romans did register his birth there; yet this the Lord would have authentically notified unto the world, by the repairing of the wise men from the east to do their homage unto him there, and that by the direction of the chief priests and scribes being consulted by Herod the king. Of the compass of time in which, or of the place from which, these wise men came to Beth-lehem, in its due time and place. But our Saviour was born before they set forth, and born at Beth-lehem upon the occasions mentioned by St. Luke, and, as St. Matthew intimates, to the end that the fulfilling of a prophecy concerning his birth might be so remarkably recorded, as it might leave both Jew and Gentile without excuse. That Beth-lehem was the place designed by God for the birth of the promised Messias, was a notion clear and evident to the chief priests and scribes, at the time when Herod consulted them: for as then they had conceived no prejudice against the person, birth, or life of our Saviour; nor had the malice of their heart wrought any eclipse

in their brains or understanding: they had their answer *ad unguem. When Herod the king* (saith St. Matthew) *heard this thing, he was troubled,* &c. 733 *And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes together,* ἐπυνθάνετο, *he consulted them* (as oracles) *where Christ should be born. And they said unto him,* (without distraction, or scattering of suffrages,) *In Beth-lehem of Judæa: for thus it is written by the prophet, And thou Beth-lehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.* It is not strange if the chief priests and scribes were so ready with their answers unto Herod, seeing this prenotion concerning the place of the Messiah's birth was known unto the vulgar people: *Many of the people,* saith St. John, *when they heard this saying, said, Of a truth this is the Prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Beth-lehem, where David was?*

8. But how clear soever the meaning of the prophet Micah in those days were both to priest and people, some variation there is in the words of St. Matthew from the words of the prophet, as they stand in the original: at which both later Jews and some Christians take more offence than the ancient Jews could have done. And if this variation were of any moment, or could minister just offence either to the Jew, to the Grecian, or to the church of God, all the blame were to be laid upon these scribes and priests, whom Herod in his perplexity did consult: for St. Matthew in this particular was but the register of their answer, which he did record in the same words that they solemnly made it. The words of the prophet

in the original, as they are now pointed, run thus: ***And thou, Beth-lehem-Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from old, from everlasting.*** Micah v. 2. The answer of the priests and scribes, as it stands upon record by St. Matthew, is *verbatim* thus; ***And thou Beth-lehem, in the land of Judæa,*** (in clearer distinction from Beth-lehem in the tribe of Zebulon, in which tribe or upon whose borders our Saviour was conceived, than the prophet's words import, for that (it may be) might as truly brook the name of *Ephratah,*) οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα, ***nequaquam minima es inter principatus, aut chiliadas Judæa, art nothing less than the least of all the seigniories or divisions of Judah.*** For so it seems they did divide their tribes or provinces, as we do shires or counties into several hundreds or liberties. Some good writers, whom our English followeth, seek to salve this seeming contradiction between the prophet and evangelist, or that answer which he relates, made by the chief priests and scribes to Herod, thus: ***But thou*** (or, *As for thee*), ***O Beth-lehem-Ephratah, though thou be little to be reckoned among the seigniories*** or ***thousands of Judæa, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel,*** &c. But this squaring of the prophet's words to our evangelist's relation is somewhat harsh and rugged to the modern Jew, who seeks to frame his steps according to the plain trodden literal sense. And therefore seeing both Christians and Jews, as well ancient as modern, agree that the promised Messias was to be born in Beth-lehem, the variation of the reading in the prophet and in the evangelist should not in reason be too much stood upon by either; yet seeing we are bound to give

no offence to the Jew, nor to press any reading at which they may stumble, being inclined to trip at 734
every scruple, we may (I take it) with the liking and approbation of Drusius, (an exquisite Hebrician for point of grammar,) and without the dislike of any learned Jew, read the first words of the prophet Micah, by way of interrogation, thus: *And art thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, little,* or *too little to be reputed among the principalities of Judah?* Now this interrogation, according to both their rules and ours, is equivalent to the negative used by our evangelist, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη, *nequaquam minima; thou art in no wise little,* or *too little to have place among the seigniories* or *principalities of Judæa.* This interrogation being presupposed, the words following naturally admit this paraphrastical supply; *Little thou art, and for a long time hast been* in re, *but great* in spe: *for out of thee shall he come forth to me which shall be the Ruler over Israel, whose going forth hath been of old, from everlasting;* foretold and expected before Judah was a kingdom or David a king, from the beginning of the world of mankind, and ever since the fall of the first man Adam.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Manner of our Saviour's Conception and Birth, as it was foretold by the Prophet Isaiah, exactly fulfilled. The Jews' Exceptions against St. Matthew's Allegation of the Prophet Isaiah's Testimony, with the full Answer unto them.

MICAH foretells the particular place of the Son of David's birth in terms plain and literal; Jeremiah the place of his conception in general, as Isaiah had done before in particular; but both somewhat enigmatically. The manner of his conception and birth (abstracted from these circumstances of place and time) is most

emphatically foretold by Isaiah, and, as I take it, some few years before Micah did so punctually describe the place of his birth. Micah (as it is upon sacred record, Jeremiah xxvi. 18, 19.) prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, and so did Isaiah. But whether any prophecy of Micah bear date before the reign of Hezekiah, is to me uncertain: and that prophecy of Micah beforementioned, chap. v. 2, *And thou, Beth-lehem in the land of Judæa*, &c. in all probability was delivered in the days of Hezekiah, and after that other prophecy, Micah iii. 12, *Zion shall be ploughed like a field*, &c. Whereas the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the manner of Christ's conception and birth was uttered by him *viva voce* in the days of king Ahaz, who was father to Hezekiah, as appears Isaiah vii. 1. to verse 17. The prophecy was, *Hear ye now, O house of David: Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will you weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin* (or *the virgin*) *shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel.* This is the first prophecy alleged by St. Matthew, chap. i, where having registered the angel's speech to Joseph in a vision by night, vv. 19, 20—*Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife:* 735*for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost*—he thus concludeth: *Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet.* ver. 22.

2. Junius in his parallel upon this 22d verse and the forecited testimony of Isaiah, moveth a question, nei-

ther so curious nor so dangerous as pertinent, 'Whether these words be the collections or interpretations of St. Matthew, or whether in this historical relation he were only the register of the angel's speech to Joseph, as in the forecited testimony out of Micah he was of the chief priests' and scribes' answer unto Herod's demand concerning the place where the Messias should be born?' This good writer is of opinion that the angel himself did unfold the true intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost in that prophecy unto Joseph, as a principal argument to persuade him not to put away Mary his espoused wife, but entertain her and her Son with the same respect and love as if the child conceived in her had been as well his only begotten Son as hers. But however the angel's presence and manner of speech did afford abundant satisfaction to Joseph's perplexed thoughts for the present, yet to prevent all future regrettings after the angel's departure from them, (when haply the dream or vision might be partly forgotten, or the truth of it suspected,) it was convenient to acquaint him with the word of the Lord, written long before to the same purpose, for that was permanent, and beyond all exception or suspicion. And seeing it was so clearly foretold by the prophet that a virgin should conceive and bring forth a son, who should be a sign or pledge of comfort to the house of David, it could not seem strange or improbable to Joseph that his espoused wife, who, as he himself also, was of the lineage of David, should be the virgin meant by the Holy Ghost in that prophecy. St. Matthew then did learn the true meaning of the prophet by the angel; and this meaning of it being avouched by both, there can be no question amongst Christians of the concludent proof and efficacy of the prophecy itself, as it is alleged by St. Matthew. We may not suspect or

think that it was fulfilled only by way of accommodation or allusion, as in the judgment of some modern divines divers other scriptures are; which yet are said by our evangelist to be fulfilled, or for the fulfilling of which many events historically related by them are said to be done or come to pass.

3. Yet even this most pregnant testimony of that grand mystery of our faith, that "Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary," is shrewdly opposed by the modern Jews, and their oppositions to our usual interpretations of this prophecy are more fiercely maintained by them, because it is in itself so pregnant. First they object, עלמה that the original word *gnalma* doth not always import a virgin, but sometimes a child-bearing woman; that in this place it points at the prophet's present wife, who before this time had brought him forth children, one at least, and was now to bring him forth another, which was to be the Emmanuel here meant. But this grammatical exception against the original word is the weakest they bring, and is clearly refuted by Junius and many others; and were it granted that the original word might sometimes import a child-bearing woman, (which is a conceit of theirs as foolish as impious,) yet could it not in this place denote the prophet's present wife. It is questioned whether the prophet at this time had any wife at all, though it be apparent that Isaiah 736 had been married before this time, from chap. vii. 3: *Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son;* a son, no doubt, lawfully begotten. But if his mother had been then living, or if she had been *hagnalma*, that *virgin* or *woman* in whom the prophet did mean to instance in particular, there should have been mention of her coming, as well as of her son's, Shear-jashub, with

Isaiah to meet Ahaz at the place appointed by the Lord himself; for all things contained in his prophecy, the very circumstances of time and place, are particularized most exactly.

4. Secondly, the Jews object, that if our Saviour Christ had been the seed here promised, or if the blessed Virgin or Joseph her husband had known thus much, they would have called him *Emmanuel*, not *Jesus*, at his circumcision; at least, this should have been his usual name: for so the prophet expressly saith, *And thou shalt call his name Emmanuel;* whereas the angel enjoineth the Virgin to call her son *Jesus.*

The third and main exception, which they press most fiercely, is, that the child here promised (whosoever were to be his mother) was to be a pledge of that strange deliverance of Ahaz and his people (within some few years after) from the confederacy of Syria and Ephraim, who had then projected the utter extirpation of the house of David. Now every sign is either of some future event to be exhibited after the sign is given, or an assurance that those things which are said to be foretold in the name of the Lord were so foretold by God indeed, not pretended only by the prophet. If this Emmanuel were to be a sign and pledge to Ahaz and his people, that the Lord would deliver them beyond their expectation from their present enemies, he was (according to the literal and historical purport of the prophet's words) to be born before this deliverance was accomplished. If he were only to be a sign or assurance that the words which Isaiah spake to Ahaz were spoken by the special command of the Lord, this might be an undoubted sign to us, or to such as lived about the time of his birth; it could be no sign or assurance unto Ahaz or

the people then living, either of their deliverance from their enemies, or that Isaiah had spoken to them in the name of the Lord, if they did otherwise question his authority. Or to say the very truth, unless the Emmanuel there promised were born at the time limited by the prophet, his birth could yield no assurance unto us that Ahaz was delivered from the king of Syria and Ephraim, or that these two enemies were cut off within the time limited by the prophet. All this we are to believe from the historical narration and literal sense of the prophet, not from the evangelical story concerning the miraculous birth of our Saviour, of which if we have a true historical belief, we must believe the evangelist from the prediction of the prophet, or from the parallel between the prophet's and the evangelist's words. This inference is good, and sufficient to ground true belief, 'The prophet foretold the virgin should conceive and bear a son, therefore the evangelist's allegation and history is of divine truth;' but not *e contra*, 'The evangelist reports that a virgin did conceive and bring forth a son; *ergo*, that which the prophet had said of Ahaz' deliverance from his enemies is of like truth and authority.' Junius therefore with some others, consequently enough to their own interpretations of this place, deny that the birth of the Emmanuel here prophesied by Isaiah was
737 "any sign at all of Ahaz' present delivery, or of the disaster of Rezin and Pekah, but of a greater and stranger deliverance of Judah and Israel from their potent enemies in future ages. And that seeing the Lord from the beginning of that kingdom had promised to give the house of David so admirable a sign as the conception of a Son by a pure virgin, it was either hypocrisy or strange incredulity in Ahaz to refuse a lesser sign of his present deliverance, when

God did so freely offer it, as it is Isaiah vii. 10—12: *Moreover the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord.* This in the prophet's construction was to weary and vex God, who had proffered this sign. But what sign? Any that Ahaz would demand for his present security against the confederacy of Syria and Ephraim. And seeing he would not choose a sign, the Lord would give him one better than he could have chosen for himself, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive*, &c." But the question still remains, of what this should be a sign? Junius denieth it to be any sign of that deliverance or assurance for which Ahaz was commanded to ask a sign; he adds withal, that of this temporary deliverance, Shear-jashub, whom Isaiah was commanded to bring with him, when he went to meet Ahaz, was the sign or pledge. But herein I cannot assent unto him, for Shear-jashub was a pledge of their return[a] whom Pekah and Rezin had lately captivated, no sign or pledge of keeping Ahaz or Hezekiah in possession of the kingdom. Of all this, the Emmanuel here promised was the undoubted sign or pledge, if we would look upon the sacred story whilst we debate those controversies with the Jew, or with others that differ in opinion from us in this particular.

5. Not to trouble the reader with recital of other good Christian writers' opinions concerning this point, or of their expositions upon this place of Isaiah, the resultance of their confident contestations *pro* and *con* is but this—There is more contention than contradiction between them about the true intent and meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the prophet.

[a] See the tenth section of this chapter.

The Jew indeed flatly contradicts us in our expositions of this place, and so far as they contradict us in the main point, we are bound to maintain our contradiction to them; but the extending of this contradiction unto them in all their expositions on this place, and of some others, declare the Jew and us Christians to be two sons of one and the same Father. The Jew, being the elder brother, is careful to preserve the map or terrar of the inheritance bequeathed unto him, after he hath been disinherited; and, frantic as he is, having the map or terrar, he brags that the inheritance represented in it is wholly his. We Christians, one and other, being seized and in possession of the inheritance, permit him the liberty of raving, as losers must have leave to speak. But oftentimes while we laugh at him, we ourselves are careless to take a copy of the terrar, whose safe custody the Jew makes chief matter of his religion, although he oftentimes beslur it with foolish animadversions of his own invention, as unskilful students do good books, which they understand not, with impertinent ridiculous marginal notes or interlineations. But however, we Christians be in possession of the inheritance promised to Abraham, from which Abraham's seed, according to the flesh, have been ejected, it would be no harm to be beholding
738 unto them for a copy of the ancient terrars of it; I mean of the literal sense of divers scriptures, of prophecies especially, and of this most admirable prophecy in particular. The blots and stains which the Jew hath made, or suffered to be made, in the literal exposition of this place, may easily be taken out without obliteration of that exact proportion which their other expositions on this place hold with the evangelical mysteries, as well forepictured as foretold in this prophecy.

That the עלמה particularized by note of demonstration or special reference, should then be a married or child-bearing woman, is a blot or stain in the literal meaning of this prophecy, which, unless it be taken out, will utterly deface the proportion between the historical event here foretold, and the evangelical mystery represented by it. A greater blot or stain it is which the Jew hath made, by avouching that the Emmanuel, whose birth was here foretold, should be either Shear-jashub the son of Isaiah, or Hezekiah the son of Ahaz, both of them being born before this time, as it is evident, the one from the literal meaning of the prophet, the other from the sacred stories of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. As for those Jews which respectively avouch both parts of this foolish conjecture, they express the same humour to reign in them which Busbequius observes in the modern Turks, who, when the fit comes upon them, will not stick to say, that Job was steward of Solomon's household, and Alexander the Great master of his horse. Yet these and some few like stains or blots which the modern Jew hath made in Isaiah's map or terrar of the evangelical mystery (whose exemplification is fully recorded by St. Matthew) being taken out, their other expositions of the prophet's words rather preserve than deface the map itself, and may be of good use to discover the proportion between it and our royal inheritance represented in it, or for confirming our belief as well of the evangelist's as of the prophet's relations. הנעלמה.

First, when the Jews allege that the Emmanuel promised by the prophet was to be born within some few years, or rather within the compass of a year, from the time of his meeting Ahaz, this is most consonant to the literal sense of these words, Isaiah vii. 16, *For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and*

choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings. "This," saith the marginal note upon our former English, "is not meant of Christ, but of any child. For before a child can come to the years of discretion, the kings of Samaria and Syria shall be destroyed." The note is two ways faulty: first, in denying this to be meant at all of Christ; secondly, in avouching it to be meant of any child. And I wish the note were extant in our English, or in some other language only, which the Jews for the most part either do not read, or do not understand. Yet if this place may be meant not of every child, but of any one child besides our Saviour Christ, and if the word *hagnalma* in verse 14, according to its strict propriety, do signify *a virgin*, shall we not hence be concluded to grant, that some other virgin besides the Virgin Mary (and before her) did conceive and bring forth a son? This in no wise may be granted, nor any interpretation of any place admitted from which such impious conclusions as this may be inferred. To conceive a son whilst she was a virgin, was the incommunicable prerogative of the mother of our Lord. Yet will it not hence follow that the prophet, by the emphatical character of a virgin *hagnalma*, might not design some virgin then present, not the prophet's wife, but
739 rather some virgin of Ahaz' kindred or of the house of Judah, for whom he astipulates that within the compass of the year following she should conceive and bring forth a son, not whilst she was a virgin, but by becoming a lawful wife beyond or before her expectation.

7. But here such as are otherwise minded, or take this passage to be literally meant of the blessed Virgin alone, will reply, 'What wonder was it, or what matter worthy the ushering in with an *ecce*, or other like in-

junction of attention, for her who was now a virgin, to conceive and bring forth a son, after the manner that other women, within a year after they are married, usually do?' But they who thus object, *facile pronunciant, quia ad pauca respiciunt,* they give sentence upon the view of one circumstance only, whenas they should take a great many more into their consideration. The virgin thus particularized, according to the literal sense of the prophet, whether then present (as is most probable) or otherwise so famously known, that his words, in all men's apprehension then present, had reference to her, might be, either for want of years or for some other defects, as unlikely to bring forth a son within the time limited, as Sarah, after ninety years age, was more unlikely than the wife of Manoah or Zacharias. However, it far surpassed the skill of astrologers, physicians, of men expert in natural magic, or other kind of divination whatsoever, (besides the divination which proceeds from the Father of lights,) to give such full assurance, as the prophet there doth, that any woman should conceive within such a compass of time, or that she should conceive a son, not a daughter, least of all that she should conceive and bring forth a son who should deservedly brook the name and title of *Emmanuel,* that is, to be a pledge of God's special presence to the house of David or land of Judah, or to protect them against their potent enemies, or to be a demonstrative sign or hostage, that before he could know how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land which Ahaz abhorred should be forsaken of both their kings; who were now ready and able (without God's special aid) to devour the land of Judah. Yet for all these and other like consequences of Emmanuel's birth, the prophet confidently astipulates in the name of his God; which without a special warrant from

him had been an intolerable presumption. But as for Ahaz himself, his house, and people, (because they would not believe this prediction according to the literal tenor,) they were to be plagued by that nation in whose potency they put their trust; by the same enemy which the prophet had foretold should, by God's appointment, defeat the present mischievous design of Syria and Samaria against Judah. And all this they should have done without any future harm or danger to the house of David by them, so Ahaz and his people would have relied entirely upon God's promise, or faithfully accepted of the sign promised by his prophet. *But not believing this, they were not established.* ver. 9. For so the prophet, immediately after Ahaz' refusal of this sign, did threaten Ahaz and his people, ver. 17—19: *The Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah; even the king of Assyria. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria. And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes.*

740 The demerits of Ahaz and of his people which did deserve the denunciation and execution of the plagues here threatened, were their too much confidence in the king of Assyria, and their distrust (hence occasioned) of what the Lord had promised by his prophet Isaiah, and would have performed by other means than by the aid of the Assyrian, so they would have relied upon them. We do not read that either Ahaz or his people did distrust, much less that they were punished for their distrust unto God's promises concerning the com-

ing of the Messias, in the appointed time, but for not accepting the sign or pledge, as well of his coming, as of their instant deliverance from the danger wherein then they stood.

8. But what probabilities or just presumptions be there, that any woman who was a virgin at the time when Ahaz and Isaiah *met in the highway of the fuller's field,* should, upon the occasion mentioned, become a married woman, and conceive a son, according to the time intimated by the prophet? All this, I take it, is more than probable from the true and literal meaning of verses 1, 2, 3, and 4, of chap. viii, which are no other than an exegetical exposition of the former prophecy, chap. vii. 14—16, or a more legal ratification or new assumption of making good the assurance, which in the former chapter he had given: *Moreover the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived and bare a son. Then said the Lord to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.* The child promised chap. vii. 14, and in this place, according to the true connexion of the literal sense, is (in my apprehension) one and the same, though described by two names, the one importing comfort to the house of David and the land of Judah; and this was given him before his conception: the latter importing the sudden execution of the woes denounced against Syria and Samaria, and was given him after his conception. And lest we should doubt

whether this Maher-shalal-hash-baz were the same with the Emmanuel promised in the former chapter, he is instyled again by the very same name, chap. viii. unto ver. 8: *The Lord spake also unto me again, saying, Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks.* Again, that the name *Emmanuel* did literally import God's peculiar presence at that time with his people, not only to deliver them from Rezin and Pekah, but from the potency of the Assyrian in future times, is evidently included in vv. 9, 10: *Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us.* The strange defeat of the confederacy here foretold was not to be expected in the days of Ahaz, in whose times the Assyrian did attempt no great matters against them, but in the days of He-
741 zekiah. Thus much the prophet's words in the verses following import, vv. 16, 17: *Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him.* This binding up of the testimony, and sealing of this law, doth argue both the law and testimony to have been of special moment, yet not to be put in execution, or fully accomplished for the present. Of the accomplishment of both, whether wholly or in part, the prophet's sons, in the in-

terim, were signs and pledges, as is imported, ver. 18: *Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.* This last passage is alleged by the apostle[a], amongst others, to prove that the Lord of hosts himself, who in Isaiah viii. 14. had promised to be a sanctuary to his people, was to participate with them of flesh and blood. *He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee. And again, I will put my trust in him. And again, Behold I and the children which God hath given me.* Yet that Isaiah viii. 18, to which our apostle in this place refers us, was literally meant of the prophet and his children, is too apparent to be denied, nor will it be safe to stand upon terms of contradiction thus far with the modern Jew. One of the prophet's sons was called *Shear-jashub*, which by interpretation is, *The remnant shall return:* and of this return or restauration he was the sign or pledge. The other was called *Emmanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us:* a name portending or foretokening God's special presence with his people at more times than one. The imposition of both names, and their importance, were literally fulfilled in the age immediately following, but mystically fulfilled only in Christ, whose coming to visit his people was prefigured by both of them. The full importance or abode of the name *Emmanuel* was fulfilled in our Saviour's conception and birth; the true importance of *Shear-jashub* shall be mystically fulfilled, when the fulness

[a] Heb. ii. 11, &c.

of the Gentiles is come, or when the Jew shall be called to be again the seed of Abraham according to promise.

9. Two points only remain. The first, how the prophecy concerning Emmanuel was fulfilled, according to the literal sense, in the prophet's time; and our resolution in this point we must take from the sacred records of this theme in the Old Testament. The second, how this prophecy was fulfilled according to the mystical sense; and this we must learn from the evangelists which allege the fulfilling of it, and other unpartial writers which relate either circumstances or signs of those times in which they wrote: out of these two points the parallel between the prophet and evangelists will, of its own accord, without any anxious inquiry or further discussion, result.

10. The histories of the Old Testament, by which Isaiah's literal meaning may be best interpreted, are in 2 Kings xvii. 18; 2 Chron. xxviii. 16, 17, &c. We have a *constat* from the prophet Isaiah himself, chap. vii. 1, 2, that this prophecy concerning Emmanuel was uttered by him in the days of Ahaz king of Judah, and of Pekah the son of Remaliah; but in what certain year of either of these two kings' reigns this revelation was made to Isaiah, and the matter of it instantly imparted unto king Ahaz, is not so certain.
742 Most certain it is, that Isaiah delivered this message from the Lord to Ahaz before the twelfth year of his reign, for in that year Hoshea the son of Elah begun to reign in Samaria over Israel, 2 Kings xvii. 1, and this was after Pekah the son of Remaliah was dead. And though it be not so certain, yet most probable it is, that the former prophecy was uttered about the eighth or ninth year of Ahaz, or about three years or somewhat more before Pekah the son of Remaliah was slain. One year, or somewhat under, we must

allow for the conception and birth of the Emmanuel, or Maher-shalal-hash-baz, and some two years after, until he were upon the point or period of time, wherein ordinary children, in those days, were enabled to know how to refuse the evil and choose the good, that is, to distinguish between other meats, besides milk, butter, and honey, and between his parents and other persons. Before this Emmanuel, or Maher-shalal-hash-baz, were thus enabled to distinguish between meat and meat, or his parents and other persons, (but how long before this time, it is uncertain,) both Pekah son of Remaliah, and Rezin king of Syria, according to the tenor of Isaiah's prophecy, and the astipulation made by him upon the sign proffered to Ahaz, were to be deprived of their kingdoms, or rather their land and kingdoms to be quitted of them, Isaiah vii. 16, and chap. viii. 4. But before their ruin, and before this revelation concerning their ruin was made unto the prophet Isaiah, they had brought Judah and the house of David exceeding low, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5—8: *Wherefore the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of them captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter. For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men; because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers. And Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the governor of the house, and Elkanah that was next to the king. And the children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and*

brought the spoil to Samaria. Upon this great disaster, or captivity of the people of Judah by these two kings, the prophet Isaiah did name one son of his *Shear-jashub,* as a pledge or token that these captives should return again unto their own land, as they did beyond all expectation, from Samaria. The history is very remarkable, both for matter and circumstance, and recorded at large by the author of the Second Book of Chronicles in the words immediately following the forecited. *But a prophet of the Lord was there, whose name was Oded: and he went out before the host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, because the Lord God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have slain them in a rage that reacheth up unto heaven. And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God? Now hear me therefore, and deliver the captives again, which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the fierce wrath of the Lord is upon you. Then certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the war, and said unto them, Ye shall not*
743 *bring in the captives hither: for whereas we have offended against the Lord already, ye intend to add more to our sins and to our trespass: for our trespass is great, and there is fierce wrath against Israel. So the armed men left the captives and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation. And the men which were expressed by name rose up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that*

were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, to their brethren: then they returned to Samaria. And so no doubt those captives, which Rezin king of Syria had carried to Damascus, were set at liberty after the king of Assyria had slain Rezin, meeting with Ahaz there. But the Edomites and the Philistines, both ancient enemies to the house of David, became *ungues in ulcere*, and kept the wound open with tooth and nail, which Rezin, Pekah, and Zichri had made, as it is registered, 2 Chron. xxviii. 17, &c. *For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives. The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Shocho with the villages thereof, and Timnah with the villages thereof, Gimzo also and the villages thereof: and they dwelt there.* After these wounds which these several enemies had made in the state of Judah, Rezin and Pekah with joint forces besieged Jerusalem, 2 Kings xvi. 5—9: *Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day. So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the*

Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him; for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin: This unhallowed submission of Ahaz unto the king of Assyria was the very thing which the Lord, by the prophet Isaiah, did dissuade him from, foretelling withal that if he persisted in this purpose of casting out one devil by another, or by the prince of devils, the latter would prove worse than the former. On the contrary, if Ahaz and his people would rely upon the sign which God had given them, or accept of his immediate aid, both Rezin and Pekah should, within short space, be ruinated without either present aid or future evil from Assyria. But if they would not believe or rely upon him, although God for his part would perform the former part of this prophecy, as it concerned the death of Rezin and Pekah, and the captivity of Samaria, yet he would bring all the plagues upon Judah, which the prophet Isaiah had threatened, by the hand of Assyria, whose aid they now sought. And yet this present Emmanuel was to be a pledge of a strange defeat of the Assyrian, after much mischief done by him, as well to Judah as to Israel. For Hezekiah (son and successor unto Ahaz) was enforced to buy his peace of Sennacherib successor to Tiglath-pileser at as dear a rate, as Ahaz had purchased the Assyrians' aid. *Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king*
744 *of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria*

appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria. 2 Kings xviii. 13—16. Both this distress whereunto Judah was now brought, and Hezekiah's strange deliverance from Sennacherib, or whatsoever the sacred story, 2 Kings xix. or elsewhere, relates concerning both, were foretold by Isaiah the prophet, chap. viii. and ix. as consequences of Ahaz's refusal of the signs which God had offered him, and of the sign which God did give to the house of David, albeit they would not accept it.

11. But to descend unto the parallel between the historical narrations in the book of Kings, of Chronicles, and intersertions to the same purpose in the prophecy of Isaiah, and our evangelists' relations how they were fulfilled: in the days of Ahaz, the house of David was brought exceeding low by the Syrians, by the king of Samaria, by the Edomites, and by the Philistines. From this extraordinary depression of it, the hopes of Rezin and Pekah, for the extirpation of it, were so advanced, that they confidently resolved upon the particular man whom they meant to make king of Judah; that was the son of Tabeol, Isaiah vii. 6. In the height of this their confidence, and the perplexity of Judah and the house of David, the Lord sends his prophet Isaiah to give them assurance of their delivery by an extraordinary sign.

In the days of Joseph and Mary his espoused wife, the house of David (whereof they both were branches)

was brought much lower than in the days of Ahaz it had been. And however no mischief were intended against them in particular, (as being obscure and private persons, neither in possession nor competitors for the kingdom;) yet for breaking off the succession of David, or preventing any of his line to be Lord of Judah, the plot was laid with more cunning than it had been by Rezin and Pekah. Three of those ancient foehoods which had sought to wreak themselves against Judah in the days of Ahaz, were now revived and united in one man, in Herod the Great: and the foehood, by this union, became both greater and stronger. He was by birth a Philistine, and by royal title[b] (bestowed upon him by the Romans) king of Idumæa and Samaria, unto which he sought to annex Judæa, as his inheritance. And although the particulars be not mentioned in the New Testament, yet is it indefinitely evident out of St. Matthew that Herod had his confederates against the house of David, and which (as soon as they knew of his birth) did seek the life of the Son of David; *When Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.* Matt. ii. 19, 20. This argues there were some other that died about the same time with Herod, which with him had sought the life of

[b] Posthæc Cæsar in Galliam fecit expeditionem, turbatam nonnihil: Antonius ad bellum Parthicum profectus est: et S. C. approbatis actis ejus tam futuris quam præteritis, rursum duces passim dimisit, et alia cuncta ut voluit disposuit. Reges quoque aliquot appellavit arbitratu suo, duntaxat qui certum tributum penderent. Ponti Darium, Pharnacis filium, Mithridatis nepotem, Idumæorum Samaritarumque Heroden.—Appian. Alexandrini de Bellis civilibus, lib. 5. p. 715.

Jesus. In this low estate whereunto the house of 745
David was brought before the death of Herod and his confederates, the Lord did send, not a prophet, but an angel, to assure, not the continuance only of David's succession, but the restauration, enlargement, and everlasting establishment of his kingdom unto Mary the daughter of David, and her husband, by a greater sign than Isaiah had proffered unto Ahaz. The angel delivers his embassage mostwhat in the same words that Isaiah did to Ahaz. *Behold*, saith the prophet Isaiah, vii. 14, *this virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and she shall call his name Emmanuel.* Unto the blessed Virgin (then present) saith the angel, Luke i. 30, 31: *Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name* JESUS. The imposition of this name *Jesus* is committed to the care of the Virgin: so was the name of *Emmanuel* to the virgin to whom the prophet Isaiah directs his speech, when he delivered his message unto Ahaz. For in the original, the word which St. Matthew renders impersonally, or in the third person plural, καλέσασι, (that is, according to the Hebrew dialect, *he shall be called*,) is the second person singular, and the feminine, *tu vocabis*, 'thou virgin shalt call him Emmanuel.' This variation of the evangelist from the prophet's precise word is such as breeds no vitiation at all in the real sense, but such as reason itself and rules of grammar require in like cases. The virgin being (as we suppose) present, when the prophet exhibited the sign unto Ahaz, he was to speak unto her in the second person. But the evangelist relating the fulfilling of this prophecy, not in the literal sense only, but in the mystical, was to change the person, or to

relate it in the third person plural, which is indeed an impersonal, according to the Hebrew dialect, ***Behold, a virgin shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name*** (that is, ***he shall be called***) ***Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, God with us.***

12. But here the Jew demands, first, how the particle ה, which is always emphatical, should denote the blessed Virgin, and should be transferred from one virgin to another; secondly, why the name given our Saviour at his circumcision was not ***Emmanuel,*** according to the prophet's speech, but ***Jesus.*** To the first demand, we answer, that the original letter is always emphatical: sometimes a note of demonstration, or particularity; and according to this importance, it refers unto the virgin then present, as if the prophet had said, ***Ecce, virgo hæc, Behold, this virgin shall conceive,*** &c.; sometime it is a note of eminency, and according to this importance it refers unto the Virgin of virgins, the blessed mother of our Lord, of whom it is meant not only in the mystical, but in the most exquisite literal sense. To the second we say, the imposition of the name Emmanuel had been requisite at our Saviour's circumcision, if this prophecy had been meant of him only in the literal sense. But inasmuch as it was to be fulfilled in ***Him,*** according to the most exquisite, both literal and mystical sense, it was requisite there should be an improvement, as well in the ***significancy*** of the name, as in the thing signified by it. Now the name ***Jesus*** imports a great deal more than the name ***Emmanuel,*** as will appear in the explication of it. The importance of the name Emmanuel, as it refers unto the child instantly promised by Isaiah, is applied unto the blessed Virgin by the angel in his preface to the annunciation, Luke i. 28: ***Hail, thou that art in***

high favour, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. The Lord was with her in a more 746
peculiar manner whilst the angel thus spoke unto her, than he had been with Gideon, to whom the like salutation was tendered by an angel, Judges vi. 12; or with Judah in the days of Isaiah or Hezekiah. But after the Lord was conceived by her, he was both with her, and with us, after a more admirable manner, than at any time he had been before with God's dearest saints. This manner of his being with us could not be fully expressed by any other name than the name *Jesus*.

13. Ahaz's distrust unto God's promise being set aside, or rather, if we use it, as a foil to set forth the blessed Virgin's facile assent, and fidelity unto the revelation made unto her by the angel; the prophetical and evangelical story hold better correspondency, both for substance and circumstance, than is between the model and the edifice. The Emmanuel promised by Isaiah was an assured pledge, that Pekah king of Samaria and Rezin king of Syria should die, or be deposed, before this child could distinguish between meats, or cry, My father, my mother. The accomplishment of this sign, or of the promise confirmed by it, is registered in the sacred story. For Pekah was slain by Hoshea the son of Elah within two or three years after the sign was given, and so was Rezin by Tiglath-pileser at Damascus. Within the like compass of years after the evangelical promise was made to the blessed Virgin, that her son Jesus should sit upon her father David's throne, Herod the Great, who had usurped it, did die a miserable death: so did his confederates against the house of Judah, as we gather from Matthew ii. 20: *Arise*, saith the angel to Joseph in a dream, *and take the young child*

and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life. Now Joseph returned from Egypt two years after our Saviour was born. Whom the evangelist means beside Herod, when he saith, *they were dead which sought the child's life*, is nowhere in sacred story expressed; nor is it to me certain whether Syria at that time had a king of their own, but it is probable they had, seeing in St. Paul's time Aretas was king of Damascus, 2 Cor. xi. 32. Some there be which mention the death of one Obedas, whom they make king of Syria, who died about the same time with Herod, but from what authority, they express not. The evangelist might mean the Roman governor of Syria, by whose favour and potency Herod was emboldened to tyrannize over the Jews' nation, and to work his projects against the house of David. Some have accused Quintilius Varus of this great sin, unto whom, and to the legions under his government, the right hand of the Lord of hosts had reached a more terrible blow, than Judah had received from him or Herod, within some few years after the butchery of the infants.

14. The second blessing whereof the Emmanuel was a pledge, whose conception had been foretold by Isaiah, was not exhibited till many years after, and it was this, that Judah and the house of David should be more admirably delivered from the Assyrian, when he should besiege Jerusalem more fiercely than Rezin or Pekah had done. And this was in the days of Hezekiah; for so the prophet assures the people, *That the rod of Asshur should be broken, as in the day of Midian*, Isaiah ix. 4: which is in effect as if he had said, 'The Lord will be with us after as wonderful a manner as he was with Gideon, when Israel was oppressed by

the Midianites.' And so it fell out in the days of Hezekiah, that Sennacherib's mighty army was destroyed by a more fearful destruction than the Midi- 747
anites had been by Gideon. And unto this strange defeat of the Assyrian, the prophet's words, Isaiah ix. 4, 5, do refer; *Thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.* Now of this disaster which befell Assyria, and the strange deliverance of Judah and the house of David by it, the Emmanuel there promised by Isaiah was the pledge or assurance, as the prophet in the next words intimates; *For unto us a child is born, and unto us a little one is given,* &c. Isaiah ix. 6. That by this child the prophet meant the Emmanuel, mentioned chap. vii, is acknowledged by all, even by such as admit of no more Emmanuels than one, to wit, our Saviour Christ. But seeing the Emmanuel there literally meant was given as a pledge or comfort unto Judah in this particular distress, certainly he was born before him, though not born only as a pledge of this deliverance, but of a far greater Deliverer or Saviour to come, for whose sake alone this deliverance, and all other of his people, from their enemies (both bodily and ghostly), were sent from God. And best interpreters take those words of Isaiah, 2 Kings xix. 34, *I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake,* to be literally meant, not of David, but of David's Son, the true Emmanuel. But to return to Isaiah ix; upon that vision of that great overthrow of Sennacherib's army, the prophet takes his rise to view a greater victory, a more potent

enemy in the same place, where Sennacherib's army was overthrown, and that was not near Jerusalem, but in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, near to Libanus, in that country whose inhabitants Sennacherib's predecessor, Tiglath-pileser, had first captivated, and in the same place our Saviour gave his apostles power over Satan and his angels, who had his people in greater subjection than the Assyrians had them in the time of Isaiah. For he had possessed many of their bodies after another manner than any earthly tyrant could have them in possession. Now when the prophet foretells as well the victory of the angel of the Lord over the Assyrian, as the victory of Christ's apostles over Satan, he gives this one sign of both; *For unto us a child is born, and unto us a little one is given*, &c. These words may refer both to the type and antitype in the literal sense; but immediately after, the light of that great mystery, which all this while had been under the cloud of the literal sense, breaks forth in its proper native lustre: for the words following can be meant of none but Christ: *And his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.* As for the former passages concerning the Emmanuel, and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, they are literally meant of Isaiah's son, and yet are withal proofs no less concludent against the Jew, no less pregnant testimonies of our belief concerning the miraculous birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ, than the testimonies last cited out of Isaiah ix. 6, 7, are

of his Godhead, or everlasting kingdom. For, however such immediate visions, or unvailed revelations of Christ, as Isaiah in these two verses, and in chap. liii. or elsewhere adds, were the most sublime kind of 748
prophecies, such as few other prophets besides David could ever attain unto, (these having the like privileges amongst the prophets, that Peter, James, and John had amongst the fellow apostles, permitted to ascend the mount with Christ, and see the transfiguration or glory of his kingdom;) yet for our instruction, predictions of Christ typically prophetical, or prophetically typical, are most admirably concludent, (as was premised before [c],) especially when the same words, according to the literal sense, fit both the pledge and the mystery pledged, or the evangelical mystery according to the improvement in a more exquisite sense, than they did the type or historical event.

15. To conclude this parallel between the evangelist and the prophet with the contrary demeanours of Ahaz and the blessed Virgin upon delivery of the like message from the Lord. The Lord proffers Ahaz a sign, wheresoever or in what kind soever he would ask it: but he will not ask it, nor will he tempt the Lord, Isaiah vii. 11, 12; as if not to rely upon the strength of Assyria had been to tempt the Lord. Nor will he believe the prophet when he gives him a sign most suitable to the signs of that present time. For Ahaz and his people had a fair introduction to believe all that the prophet had assumed to make good, upon the conception and birth of Emmanuel, from the experienced success or happy omen of Isaiah's former son, whom he named (upon the occasion forementioned) *Shear-jashub*.

[c] Chap. xi. sect. 2, 3.

The blessed Virgin, after she had seen the angel of the Lord, and talked with him, did think it no tempting of the Lord to accept this sign which the angel proffered, *Behold, thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren.* Luke i. 36. After her acceptance of this sign, and solemn passing of her assent unto whatsoever the angel said, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word,* ver. 38; she thought it no tempting of the Lord to be further confirmed in the truth of this sign; *for she arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost: and she spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. And blessed is she that believed,* &c. Luke i. 39, &c. Upon these lively experiments of the truth of the angel's words unto her, the blessed Virgin immediately conceives that sweet and sacred hymn, *My soul doth magnify the Lord,* &c. In her belief and acceptance of this sign, or rather in her conception, which did instantly follow upon it, that sign which God had proffered to Ahaz by Isaiah was most exactly accomplished. Ahaz was willed to ask a sign, either in the depth or height above, Isaiah vii. 11. Though Ahaz should have requested God that the moon and stars might descend out of the spheres, and become moun-

tains and rocks on earth, or that the stones in the bowels of the earth, or rocks in the sea, might ascend into heaven, and become glorious stars; neither of these, nor both of them, had been so great a wonder, as that which God now wrought upon the blessed Virgin's belief unto his promise. For now he who was higher than the heavens, who filleth both heaven 749
and earth with his presence, (the true and only Son of God,) comes down from heaven, is inclosed in the Virgin's womb, becomes her son: and the fruit of her womb, whose bodily original was from the earth, becomes the Son of God, the King of heaven, and yet still remains the true Emmanuel, God with us, or more than so, the Jesus the Saviour.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Circumcision of our Saviour.

THE angelical hymn, or testification of the birth of Jesus made unto the shepherds by the celestial host, is a subject more fit for sermons than for these comments; at least, the solemnity of that great festival would better become the commemoration of those joyful ditties, than a plain historical narration of them, specially seeing it would require a long search and a large discourse to make it clear, where this sacred hymn, sung by angels upon the birthday of Jesus, was either foretold by any prophet, or foreshadowed by matter of fact. Besides this hymn, the next evangelical narration to his birth was his circumcision and imposition of the name *Jesus*. Now, albeit his circumcision be not mentioned in the Creed, yet it is a point of belief not to be omitted in this place: *When eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called* JESUS, *which was so named*

of the angel before he was conceived in the womb, Luke ii. 21. But was it any where either expressly foretold, or concludently portended by matter of fact, that the Son of God (God blessed for ever) should be circumcised? Yes: all this was most concludently foresignified, and that in such a peculiar manner as cannot exactly be paralleled with any of the former general ways, according to which the incarnation of the Word, or other articles concerning the Son of God, were either observed to be foreshadowed or to be fulfilled. Testimony express and direct there is none, I know, that the Son of God should be circumcised; and yet the circumcision of God in the person of the Son was more than forepictured, literally included in the covenant between God and Abraham, Gen. xvii. 6, 7: *I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee,* &c. *And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations*, vv. 9—12. Though Abraham himself and all his household were presently circumcised, yet the covenant, whereof circumcision was the pledge or token, was to be established, not in Abraham or in Ishmael, but in Isaac. *And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son*

indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him, ver. 19. 750 Abraham feared lest God's special favour to this son of promise might exclude Ishmael from blessings ordinary, and hence he prefers this modest petition unto God, ver. 18, ***O that Ishmael might live before thee!*** To which he receives this gracious answer, ver. 20; ***And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.*** Lastly, to shew that the prerogative promised to Isaac was firm, and not subject to contingency, it is further repeated, ver. 21, ***But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.***

2. It is very observable, that whereas the Hebrew mentions only the covenant betwixt God and Abraham, and his seed after him, the Chaldee Paraphrase[c] hath it expressly, that God did make this covenant betwixt his Word and Abraham; as verse 2, ***Dabo fœdus meum inter verbum meum, et inter te;*** and verse 10, ***Hoc est fœdus meum quod servabit is inter*** [***verbum meum***] ***et inter vos, atque inter*** [***filios tuos***] ***post te: ut circumcidatur in vobis omnis masculus.*** What manner of covenant, or rather league, this was betwixt God and Abraham, comes to be discussed in the unfolding of God's oath to Abraham, and the consecration of Abraham's seed to his everlasting priesthood of everlasting blessing. The legal covenant (afterwards confirmed by oath) was now begun and solemnized on Abraham's part (as solemn leagues in those eastern countries usually were) by effusion of blood, his own and his

[c] Onkelos, Fagio interprete.

family's, and so to be continued in his posterity throughout their generations. And inasmuch as circumcision was the sign or solemn ceremony of this mutual league between God and Abraham, and Abraham's seed, it is necessarily implied (by the tenor of the same mutual covenant) that God should subscribe or seal the league after the same manner, and to receive the same sign of circumcision in his flesh which Abraham and his seed had done. Again, inasmuch as this league was established with Isaac, Abraham's son, by promise, this likewise includes that the only Son of God, who was to be Abraham's seed, should be circumcised in his flesh as Isaac had been. And this part of the covenant was performed on God's part in the person of his Son at the circumcision of the child Jesus. It was impossible that the covenant should be fully accomplished so long as Abraham's corruptible seed did only bear the seal or sign; for it was to be an everlasting covenant; and to seal an everlasting covenant with an everlasting seal in Abraham's seed, or successor, according to the flesh, was a matter as difficult as to imprint a permanent stamp or character upon a stream of running water. This covenant could not begin to be in *esse*, or bear a true and solid everlasting date, until it were sealed in the flesh of the promised seed. As was his person in whom this covenant was to be accomplished, such was the seal, and such did the covenant thus sealed become, truly immortal and everlasting, never to be reiterated after it was once accomplished in him, which was not done but begun upon the eighth day after our Saviour's birth. That which was now begun by him, and in part sealed by him by the seal of circumcision in his flesh, was afterwards to be accomplished and finally sealed by his bloody sacrifice upon the cross. The continual practice

of circumcision by the Jew (though he be senseless and blind, and perceiveth it not) is unto us a legible character, and an undoubted visible pledge, that God who made this covenant with Abraham, was to be incarnate, 751 or to assume flesh by assuming Abraham's seed, to the end he might interchangeably seal this covenant in his flesh. But seeing as well Abraham's present seed as their families were still subject to mortality, it was most fitting and requisite that circumcision should be continued throughout all their generations, in testification of their hope and expectance of the promised seed, unto whose flesh the seal of circumcision being once put, the covenant sealed was to stand fast for ever, without reiteration or addition of any other seal. In him all God's promises are yea and Amen. Whilst he was circumcised, God was circumcised, and man was circumcised; and this covenant or league between God and man was mutually sealed by God and man with one and the same numerical seal. Howbeit, as was intimated before, this glorious covenant thus jointly sealed up in him, was not to bear its everlasting date until it were further ratified and finally sealed by his bloody sacrifice upon the cross, unto which service he was initiated by his circumcision. The sacrament of circumcision was not so properly abolished as changed into the sacrament of baptism, and so changed by that commission which this our everlasting Priest gave to his apostles and ministers after his resurrection: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Matthew xxviii. 19. It was by this new commission so changed, that he which now seeks to circumcise others, or suffers himself to be circumcised, doth but labour as much as in him lies to dissolve and dissipate this

glorious covenant betwixt God and man, thus jointly sealed up in one and the same individual person, with one and the same numerical seal, and afterwards authentickly and finally sealed by the bloody sacrifice of the same person, God and man, upon the cross. And however the Mahometans, the Saracens and Persians, with other preposterous imitators of Abraham's faith, have run mad with love of this ceremony of circumcision, sometimes most loathsome and odious to flesh and blood, whilst it was pleasing unto God; yet the practice of it is now more abominable unto God, that gave it for a sign of his everlasting covenant, than it was pleasing to him, or displeasing to men, whilst the law of ceremonies was in force. And for this reason St. Paul wisheth the same curse or punishment unto such as pressed the necessity of circumcision upon Christ's church, which God himself had threatened unto such as, during the time of the law, did neglect, contemn, or omit it: *The uncircumcised man child* (saith God to Abraham, Gen. xvii. 14.) *whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people. I would,* (saith St. Paul, Galatians v. 12,) or as some read, *I would to God they were even cut off that trouble you.* Such, he means, and such alone, as did trouble them by pressing the necessity of circumcision upon them which had been baptized in Christ.

3. That the heathens were concluded in this league, the modern Jew cannot deny: for not only Abraham's sons, but every male in his family, though bought with money, was to receive the sign of this covenant in his flesh. But, saith the Jew, seeing they came into this league by receiving circumcision, what is this to you Gentiles which will not be circumcised? The apostle St. Paul hath most divinely dissolved this knot, Rom.

iv. 10. His words are so plain that they need no comment, but only to add this circumstance, which is likely St. Paul took for granted, when he made that excellent comment upon Moses's words, Genesis xv. 6: 752 *Abraham* (saith Moses) *believed in God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.* Seeing the scripture, as St. James tells us, was fulfilled when Abraham offered up his son Isaac, why was not this testimony of God concerning Abraham reserved to that fact, or at least to Abraham's obedience in circumcising himself and his son Isaac? Both these facts include a greater measure of belief in God's promises, than Abraham gave proof of in the forecited place, and was therefore more capable of that praise or approbation. But if that approbation of Abraham's faith had been deferred until the covenant of circumcision had been subscribed unto by Abraham, the Jews might with more probability have conceived that this righteousness, which God imputes to Abraham, had come by the deeds of the law, that none but such as are circumcised could be partakers of it; whereas, on the contrary, this testimony being given unto Abraham before he was circumcised, cuts off the Jew's title of boasting in circumcision. This is the ground of the apostle's reason, Rom. iv. 9, 10: *For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed unto them also.* And again, Gal. iii. 8, 9: *And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through*

faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

4. Again, God in so disposing of times and seasons, that his only Son should be circumcised upon the first of January, did signify that interest which the Gentiles or heathens were to have in this covenant. For this was the day wherein the Romans, in whose dominions and under whose government he was born, did consecrate to Janus, to them a god of peace and prosperity; the day wherein they did mutually present their solemn salutations or good wishes for a happy year; and for good luck sake, as we say, did send gifts one to another, as honey, and other like sweetmeats, and coin, *ut dulces dies anni a dulcibus rebus auspicarentur*, as emblems of their good wishes for many pleasant and happy days.

And whilst they were thus employed in preventing each other with gifts and mutual precations of peace and many happy days, God gives his only Son unto them, (and to them all,) who was the Prince of that peace, the common fountain of all that happiness, which they could wish one to another. Albeit the Son of God were born eight days before, yet he was given unto us upon the day of his circumcision. His circumcision was the designment or dedication of him for the salvation of mankind: *Behold*, (saith the angel, Luke ii. 10,) *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.* The prophet Isaiah foretold this joy, not only with reference to the birth, but to the circumcision also of the true Emmanuel: *They joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil*, Isaiah ix. 3. *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son*

is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder, &c. ver. 6.

But some there be who will either deny, or not believe, that our Saviour was circumcised upon the first of January, because we have no better warrant 753
for this opinion than the tradition of the church. But some of the ancient and learned fathers did think they had the testimony of scripture, besides the tradition of their ancients. For so they interpret those words of St. John Baptist, John iii. 30, *He must increase, but I must decrease;* as if they did contain a secret character of the time wherein John Baptist and our Saviour were born, the one upon the longest, the other upon the shortest day in the year. And by this account our Saviour was circumcised upon the eighth day of January. For my part, I dare not contradict this kind of interpretation of the fathers, being fully persuaded that the Holy Ghost doth ofttimes foresignify greatest mysteries as well by mere character of words, as by words assertive, or matter of fact.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Name Jesus, *and the Title* Lord.

THE meaning of the name *Jesus* is expounded by the angel, Matt. i. 21: *She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name* JESUS: *for he shall save his people from their sins.* But this title of *Saviour* may admit many degrees, partly in respect of the name itself in the original tongue, whence it descends unto the Greek and Latin; but more principally in respect of the matter, that is, the distress or danger whence men are saved. In respect of this latter at least, Jesus the son of Mary far exceeds all others that have been, or hereafter may be termed

saviours. But of the danger or misery from which he saved his people, there will be better opportunity to speak at large in the article of his cross. The explication of the name itself is the work of this time and place. Some there be which think this name *Jesus* must necessarily be derived from the essential and proper name of God; a name never rightly pronounced by the Jews, or by any other, as some learned Hebricians think, before our Saviour's birth, but then made *effable*, or utterable (as the authors of this opinion would persuade us, who derive this word *Jesus* from *Jehovah*, by intersertion of one Hebrew letter, to wit, *shin*, which is as much as *sh*). According to this derivation, they would make the compound name to be an emblem or type of the two natures in Christ; Jehovah bearing the type of the divine nature, and the letter *shin* interserted into this name, to be *an* emblem of the incarnation or human nature assumed into the unity of the person of the Son of God. This etymology or derivation (as the authors of it imagine) best agrees with the angel's interpretation of the name *Jesus* beforecited; because Jehovah himself saith, Isaiah xlv. 21, *There is no Saviour besides me*. If this be λόγος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, "current cabalism," we are in special beholding to Osiander for it. If by sager judgments it happen to be censured for a fancy, Jacobus Naclantus[a], a Romish bishop, must share with Osiander in the censure. Whatsoever the opinion be in itself, the allegation for confirmation of it is not concludent. For *that*, rightly examined, only infers that Jehovah himself, (he that was essentially God,) and none besides him, was to be our Saviour, or the Saviour of the world. This is a truth unquestionable, yet a truth which will not conclude, that whilst he became the

[a] Vide Jacobum Naclantum in medulla scripturæ.

Saviour of the world, he was to take no other name or 754
title upon him besides the proper and essential name of God, only embellished with one letter. But admit the name *Jesus*, (as we take it in our Creed,) given to our Saviour by the angel, must draw its pedigree from the same Hebrew root or primitive from which the name *Jesus* given to others is derived; yet the branches of the same root or primitive (from any of which the name *Jesus* may be aptly alike immediately derived) differ much. First, we may derive the word *Jesus* from the future tense of the Hebrew *jashang*, *salvavit*; and thus the name in the Hebrew should be *Jehoshuah*, whence he whom in our English we call *Joshua the son of Nun* and *Jesus the Son of God* should have one and the selfsame name in the Hebrew, as they have in the Greek and vulgar Latin. According to this derivation, all the prerogatives which Jesus Christ the Son of God can challenge before Jesus the son of Nun, or others which have been called *Jesus*, must be deduced only from the matter or manner of the salvation which he bestows, not from any peculiar property or sovereignty of name. The same name in the Hebrew is sometimes read shorter, not *Jehoshua*, but *Jeshua*, and from this latter contracted name as well the Greek Ἰησοῦς as the Latin *Jesus* is more immediately and with less alteration derived. This latter kind of writing (or contraction) was more familiar among the Jews in our Saviour's time. And for this reason the modern Jews call him *Jesu*, not in despite or mockery, (as some great clerks [b] have been persuaded,) but out of an ordinary custom of omitting the Hebrew guttural in this and like words for better facility of pronouncing. And as Drusius notes, the omission of this letter in proper names grew in use

[b] Vide Drusium de nominibus.

amongst later Hebricians (such as lived since or about our Saviour's time) upon the same occasions, that moved the ancient Latin fathers to render the Hebrew *Hoseang*, not as we do now, *Hoseas*, but *Ose*. Whether we read *Jehoshua* or *Jeshua* or *Jeshu* in the Hebrew, the name in the Greek or Latin is all one; and the meaning or signification in the Hebrew the very same.

2. But albeit the name of this our Jesus may rightly be derived from the same branch of the Hebrew *jashang* from which the name of *Jesus* as it was given to Jesus the son of Nun, and to Jesus the son of Josedech, took their original, yet I like best of their opinion, which derive the name *Jesus* (as given to the Son of God) not from the participle, verb, or adjective, but from the abstract or substantive *Jeshugnah*, which is as much as *salus ipsa*, or *salvation* itself. And this original of the name *Jesus* Simeon seems to intimate in his divine song, Luke ii. 28, 29: *He took the child Jesus* (saith the evangelist) *in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen*, (not σωτῆρα σου, but σωτήριόν σου,) not *salvatorem*, but *salutem*, not *the Saviour*, but *the salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel.* Now all these attributes, of being *a light to lighten the Gentiles, to be the glory of Israel*, are properly ascribed unto the person of our Saviour, unto God made man, or unto the man Christ Jesus, in whom the Godhead dwelleth bodily. The Hebrew abstract or substantive, which the Greeks express by σωτήριον or σωτηρία, that is, by *salvation* itself, (not by *saviour*,) is most frequently used in those places of scripture wherein sal-

vation by Christ is promised. As Isaiah lii. 10: *The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all* 755
the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God. And again, Isaiah lvi. 1: *Thus saith the Lord, Keep ye judgment, and do justice: for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed.* And Habakkuk iii. 18: *Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation,* (so our English,) or *in God my salvation,* or *my Jesus.* And again, Isaiah xlix. 6: *It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.* Instantly after God had saved Israel out of the hand of the Egyptians, and drowned the Egyptians in the sea, Moses and the children of Israel sang this song unto the Lord, Exod. xv. 1, 2; *He hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation,* &c. This deliverance of Israel from the Egyptian thraldom, and their safe conduct through the Red sea, was but a type or shadow of a greater deliverance to be wrought by the same God for his people, for which they were to take up the same song which Moses and the children of Israel here did; but with some additions or fuller expressions, how the God of their strength should become the God of their *salvation,* or their *Jesus. And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me. Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust, and not be afraid: for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he is also my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the*

wells of salvation. Isaiah xii. 1, 2, 3. Though these and many other places of the like observation, had their true historical occasions, yet were they not exactly fulfilled according to their prophetical importance, until he fulfilled them who was Jehovah, both Lord and God from eternity, not by a general title, but by a distinct and proper name given unto him by God's appointment at his circumcision. How the name and office of Christ Jesus, as King and Priest, was both foreprophesied and respectively foreshadowed, by Jesus the son of Nun, and by Jesus the son of Josedech, must be referred unto his consecration to be the Priest after the order of Melchisedec.

3. It followeth in the Creed, that "Jesus Christ who is the only Son of God is our Lord." Now whether this title *Lord* be interserted into this article by way of anticipation, as the other title *Christ* apparently is, may be doubted. He did bear the name *Jesus* from his circumcision, as we do our Christian names from the font. This was his proper name; the other two were names of office. *Know ye*, saith the apostle, Acts ii. 36, *that that Jesus whom ye have crucified, him hath God made both Christ and Lord*, to wit, after they had crucified him. He was anointed to his prophetical office at his baptism, but thereby rather initiated to be, than actually made Christ and Lord. Unto these two offices of everlasting Priest and everlasting King he was not actually anointed, or fully consecrated, until his resurrection from the dead. Was not then the Son of God Lord before his resurrection? Yes, being God from eternity, he was also Lord from eternity. So we are taught by Athanasius, "The Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Ghost is Lord." Whosoever is truly God is also truly Lord. And in this acception of *Lord*, as there be not three Gods but one God, so there be

not three Lords, but one Lord in the blessed Trinity. The Father is the only God, the only Lord; the Son 756
is the only God, the only Lord; the Holy Ghost is the only God, the only Lord. But whether this title of *Lord*, as it is here inserted in this article of the Creed, import no more than that the Son of God is the true and only Lord, with the Father and the Holy Ghost; or whether it were not before his birth in some sort peculiar to the Son, is a point neither clear in itself, nor easy to be cleared; because the ancient translators (especially the Greek and Latin) render the three original words, *Elohim*, *Jehovah*, or the name of four letters (however it be pronounced), and *Adonai*, promiscuously by *Lord*. And yet these three words in the original have their several significations or importances. To omit the word Elohim; about the name of four letters there is much contention how it should be pronounced; yet all agree that it denotes the nature and essence of God, is his most proper name, and admits no plural. The proper signification of the name *Adonai* is as much as *Dominus*, or *Lord*.

4. The reason, as I take it, why the Greeks and Latins have usually but one expression of both names, is, because the ancient Hebrews did not pronounce the name of four letters, unless it were in the sanctuary, or in solemn benedictions. Nor did they write it so as it might be pronounced, that is, with any proper vowels, but either with the vowels of Adonai, or of Elohim. Not the Greeks and Latins only, but the Chaldee Paraphrase sometimes reads *Adonia*, where we read *Jehovah*, or the name of four letters. And thus it doth not from mistake of the Hebrew vowels, which in the time of Onkelos, the latter of the two Chaldee Paraphrases, were not expressed; *And God said to Moses, I appeared unto Abraham,*

unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them, Exod. vi. 3. Or as the Chaldee, *by the name ADONAI*, &c. ***Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage***, &c. Some good writers, in the interpretation of this place, observe, that albeit Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were in high favour with God, yet they wrought no miracles, as Moses, the first among the sons of men, did. And hence they infer, that Moses did work all his miracles in the power and virtue of his name, whether *Jehovah* or *Adonai*, which was first manifested unto him: but amongst many interpretations of this place, Fagius[e] best approves this.

[e] Variæ sunt commentatorum interpretationes in hunc locum: quarum aliquot hic referre volumus. Quidam sic intelligunt: quod Deus quidem generalem quandam sui cognitionem patribus revelaverit; sed non tam claram et perspicuam, quam revelata est per Mosen. Et inter patriarchas obscurè adhuc de Deo prædicatum, per Mosen autem manifestiorem prædicationem de Deo vulgatam esse. Alii dicunt quod hoc nomen Dei, Adonai, manifestum quidem et usitatum fuerit patriarchis, secundum vocem, sed non secundum significatum mysterium, aut virtutem ejus. Videlicet quod patriarchæ sciverint quidem Deum satis fortem, et potentem esse ad edenda miracula et prodigia, sed non sciverint nomen Dei tetragrammaton יהוה nomen illud esse, quo possit homo, tanquam cooperator et delegatus a Deo, miracula edere. Quemadmodum Mosen putant virtute hujus nominis יהוה *Adonai* miracula edidisse. Mihi videtur omnium simplicissima sententia esse eorum, qui ad hunc modum explicant, quasi Deus hoc sensu hæc verba ad Mosen dixerit: Omnipotentem quidem me esse patribus declaravi et mihi abunde esse divitiarum, ut illos divites redderem. At in nomine meo Adonai non fui cognitus illis, id est, verum opere non complevi quod illis sum pollicitus. Quasi dicat promittentem quidem me illis terram Chananæorum, audierunt et crediderunt; sed opere promissa complentem non viderunt, quemadmodum tu visurus es. Tibi igitur in nomine meo Adonai cognitus ero, id est, videbis me id facere quod nomen sonat, nempe veracem esse, &c. Paulus Fagius Paraphr. Chald. in Exodum, cap. vi.

Although God were known to Abraham as Omnipotent and All-sufficient to perform whatsoever he hath promised; yet was he not known unto Abraham, or other of the patriarchs, by that name or title, which did import the instant performance of what he had promised unto Abraham. This was immediately imported in the name of four letters, or in those descriptions which God there gave to Moses of his nature 757
and essence, or of his present purpose towards Israel, in Exod. iii. 14, *I am that I am*, &c.

5. And the Chaldee Paraphrase, it is probable, did use the name *Adonai* instead of the name of four letters, as most pertinent and most significant to this purpose: for it properly pertains to him who is not only in himself Almighty or All-sufficient, but Lord of all, to dispose of kingdoms and inheritances, to depose greatest lords and advance meanest servants. If the name of four letters were to the ancient Hebrews, as Drusius with some others will have it, ineffable, this was a true character of his incomprehensible nature which they properly signify. Nor doth the usual substitution of *Adonai* for the name of four letters want matter of more than grammatical observation. This practice was a literal emblem or character of that which our evangelist hath expressed in words assertive, John i. 18, *No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* In this declaration or exposition of God, (whose incomprehensible nature was charactered by his ineffable name,) made by the Son of God incarnate, there was a greater improvement of man's knowledge of God, in respect of that knowledge which Moses and the prophets had, than there was in Moses's knowledge of God, in respect of Abraham's, Isaac's, or Jacob's. Moses and his suc-

cessors did see the performance of that which the name of *Jehovah*, or *Adonai*, first revealed to Moses did import, to wit, deliverance from their bodily enemies; and in that deliverance they had a pledge of far greater blessings promised, which yet they did not receive: for as our apostle testifies, Heb. xi. 39, though Moses, amongst others, *through faith, obtained a good report, yet he did not receive the promise*, that is, the blessing promised, nor was the nature of man capable of this blessing promised, until that God, who was first revealed unto Moses under the name of *Jehovah*, was made Lord and Christ.

6. It had been a question more worthy of Drusius' pains than all the questions which he makes concerning the name of four letters, whether the name *Adonai* were not in some sort peculiar to the Son of God, or to ὁ Λόγος, who was to be made flesh. That this name *Adonai* is so peculiar to the Son of God as ὁ Λόγος is, I dare not affirm: for ὁ Λόγος doth nowhere, to my remembrance, denote any other person in the blessed Trinity besides the Son, whereas the name *Adonai* is an expression which many times refers unto the Trinity or Divine nature. And in this extent it must be taken when it is substituted for the ineffable name of God, unless some special circumstances restrain it to the Son. But in many passages of the Old Testament both names are expressed according to their proper consonants. And in all these places the name *Adonai* refers only to the Son, as the name of four letters denotes the Father. As in psalm cx, where we read, *The Lord said unto my Lord;* it is in the original, *Jehovah said unto my Lord, Adoni*, or *Adonai*. And in this place the name of four letters refers only to God the Father. But so doth not the name *Adoni* denote either the Father or the Holy Ghost, but the

Son alone. I durst not have been so bold as to have gathered this general rule from mine own observation, unless I had found it excellently observed and proved at large by Petrus Faber, in his Dodecamenon, cap. 8. It much affected this learned man, as it will do any that is wise unto sobriety, to see how most of the ancients, as well in the Greek as in the Latin church, albeit they took no notice at all of any difference between these two names of God in the original, did yet 758
constantly appropriate the name of *Lord* to *God the Son*, when he is named in the same prayer or gratulatory hymn with God the Father. But this they might learn either from St. Paul, or from the Apostles' Creed: for so the blessing is, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God*, not *of the Lord God*, &c. And so in the Apostles' Creed the title of *Lord* is appropriated unto the Son of God, not added either to the Father Almighty, or to the Holy Ghost.

7. But in many places of the Old Testament, wherein both names of God are specified, the name of *Adonai* is placed before the name of four letters. And thus it happens, so far as I can observe, especially in the serious supplications or gratulatory expressions of holy men, as in that speech of Gideon, Judges vi. 13: *Oh my Lord, if God be with us, why then is all this befallen us?* And again, Joshua vii. 7: *Joshua said, Alas, O Lord God, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan*, &c. The evangelical mystery implied in this form of prayer or supplication, is excellently deciphered by Masius in his comments upon this place, with whose words, gathered from the tradition, or liturgy rather of the ancient Hebrews, of the cabalists, I conclude this treatise.

"Joshua[f]," saith he, "calls God by two names,

when as chief commander he speaks in behalf of all the rest: the one is *Adonai*, the other *Jehovah*. The former setteth out God's ruling power, the latter hath respect (as elsewhere I have shewed) to God's essence. These two names often come together in the most fervent prayers of the saints in the sacred story, as here they do: namely, they inspired with the Holy Ghost do as (I conceive) the holy church doth, praying for all things from the Father for the Son's sake. For seeing *Adonai* (as I said) hath an eye to God's ruling power, it agrees manifestly to the Son, and represents him to us, by whom as God the Father made the world, so he ruleth it. In this point the diviner sort of Hebrew authors, called *cabalists*, assent to us when they teach that the name *Adonai* is as it were the key by which entrance is opened to God Jehovah;

[f] Compellat Josua Deum duplici nomine, dum ut imperator, pro omnibus verba facit. Alterum est אדני, Adonai; alterum יהוה: illud ad dominationem pertinet; hoc Dei essentiam, ut alibi dixi, intuetur. Solent autem duo ista nomina sæpius in vehementioribus precationibus isto modo conjungi a viris sanctis in sacra historia. Quod eodem illi Spiritu afflati fecere, ut ego certe existimo, quo sacrosancta ecclesia Deum Patrem omnia orat per Filium. Nam cum nomen Adonai, ut dixi, dominationem intueatur, plane Filio congruit, eumque nobis repræsentat, per quem Deus Pater, ut fecit mundum, sic mundum moderatur. Idque adsentiuntur nobis etiam, verbis saltem, diviniores Hebræorum philosophi, quos *cabbalistas* vocant; cum tradunt, illud nomen, Adonai, esse tanquam clavem, qua patefit aditus ad Deum Jehovam: hoc est, ad Deum in sua essentia veluti latentem; esse thesaurum, in quo ea, quæ ab Jehova nobis impartiuntur, omnia sunt recondita; esse insuper œconomon illum magnum, qui res omnes dispensat, nutrit, vegetat, per Jehovam; denique neminem ad Jehovam penetrare posse, nisi per Adonai: neque enim ullam aut viam, aut rationem ad illum perveniendi aliam esse prorsus; atque ideo ecclesiam preces suas sacras sic auspicari: "Adonai," hoc est, "Domine, labia mea aperias, et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam." Hæc enim, et his similia alia scripta extant in eo libro, cui titulum illi fecere, 'Portam Lucis:' et in libro quem vocant שמם המפרש, id est, 'Nomen explicatum.'—Masius, Comment. in Josuam, c. 7. p. 124.

that is, to God, as it were hid in his own essence; and that it is the treasure in which these things bestowed on us by Jehovah are all deposited; and that moreover it denoteth the great Steward, who disposeth of all, and nourisheth and quickeneth all things under Jehovah; and finally, that no man can approach near Jehovah but by Adonai, because there is no other way or course at all to come to him; and that therefore the church thus begins her holy prayers: 'Adonai,' that is, 'Lord, open my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.' These and such like passages are extant in the book entitled *Porta Lucis*, 'The Gate of Light;' and in the book called שם המפרש, that is, 'The Name explicated.'"

THE

HUMILIATION OF THE SON OF GOD,

BY HIS

BECOMING THE SON OF MAN,

BY TAKING THE FORM OF A SERVANT, AND BY HIS SUFFERINGS UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, &c.;

OR,

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES

UPON

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS.

THE HUMILIATION OF THE SON OF GOD;

OR,

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF

COMMENTARIES UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

THAT the man Christ Jesus was truly and properly the Son of God, not from his conception, birth, or circumcision, but from eternity; that the Son of God was so made man in time, that whilst the man Christ Jesus was conceived, born, and circumcised, he who was the Son of God and God our Lord from eternity, was conceived, born, and circumcised in our flesh, hath been, though not the entire subject, yet the main scope of a former treatise. Unto which, by the assistance of this Jesus and his Holy Spirit, we now endeavour to annex this present treatise, or eighth book of Commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed; the subject and scope whereof is to shew, that the same God and our Lord, "who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, &c. did" (according to the scripture afore extant) "suffer under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried," &c.

Besides that which hath been delivered concerning this Jesus and our Lord, all that we are in these

comments to prosecute or meddle with (until we come unto the article of his coming to judge the quick and the dead, and the accomplishment of a treatise already begun concerning the holy catholic church) will fall
762 under these generals, the Humiliation, the Exaltation, and Consecration of the Son of God to the everlasting Priesthood.

Of his humiliation, his death and sufferings; of his exaltation, his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of God; were the periods or accomplishments: of his consecration to his everlasting priesthood, his agony and bloody death, his rest three days and three nights in the grave, and resurrection thence, were the principal, though not the only parts. To begin with his humiliation.

763 ## SECTION I.

Of the Humiliation of the Son of God, and the end why he did so humble himself in the general.

CHAP. I.

In what Sense the Son of God is said to have humbled himself.

1. ALBEIT the humiliation of the Son of God our Lord be not expressly mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, yet is it so emphatically expressed in canonical scriptures, (whence the articles of our creed are taken, by whose rules they are to be interpreted,) that no man which admits the scripture to be a rule of Christian faith and practice, can deny this humiliation of the Son of God to be a fundamental point of belief, and rule of

manners and practice, truly Christian. As, to omit other texts for the present, that one of our apostle St. Paul [a] shall suffice: *Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* If we consider this humiliation of Christ our Saviour in its general or abstract notion, not as restrained unto particular circumstances of his death and sufferings, it is in some sort more peculiar to him as he was and is the Son of God, than the matter of any other article following in this creed. For when we say (as we must believe) that the only Son of God was born, was circumcised, did suffer under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; these and the like speeches can be no otherwise verified of him, as he is God, than *per communicationem idiomatum:* that is, the matters signified by these and the like speeches had their beginning and real existence in his human nature. For that alone was really capable of weakness, sorrow, infirmity, and of death: yet inasmuch as the whole human nature itself was but an appendix of his Divine Person, (no person distinct from it,) whatsoever Christ Jesus did do or suffer in this nature, was done and suffered by the eternal Son of God. The Son of God was truly humbled in and according to this nature, in all his natural, 764

[a] Phil. ii. 3—7.

and more than natural sufferings, from his birth to his death. Yet may we not say, that this Son of God did humble himself only in these or the like undertakings, whereof the human nature alone was really capable. That exinanition, or nullifying of himself, mentioned by our apostle, (Phil. ii. 7,) did not take its beginning from or in the manhood, but in and from the Divine Person of the Son of God. For it was no physical passion or natural affection, no passion at all, either natural or supernatural, yet a true and proper humiliation more than civil, though better resembled by humiliation civil than by natural. His obedience did not merely consist in his patient suffering, but in the submission of himself to his Father's will, before he suffered. Most willing he was to take upon him the form of a servant, before he actually took our nature upon him for our redemption; before the angel Gabriel was sent unto the blessed Virgin; before the psalmist[b] had said on his behalf, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O God.* This unconceivable manner of his unexpressible willingness to do his Father's will, was the very life and soul of that most admirable obedience of his human will to do and suffer whatsoever he did or suffered in our flesh: that, which gave the infinite value and everlasting efficacy to his everlasting sacrifice, which was offered once for all.

2. For taking a true, though an imperfect scale (for such is the best that man can take) of his humiliation and obedience, we are to scan the meaning of our apostle in the forecited place more particularly. He was,

[b] Ps. xl. 6, 7, 8.

saith our apostle, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, *in the form of God;* the original implieth the very essence or nature of God. As much as we are taught to believe in the Nicene or Athanasius' Creed, where it is said, "He was of one substance with the Father," &c. He was so in the *form* of God, or so truly God, that *he thought it no robbery* (no usurpation of any dignity which was not his own by right of nature) *to account himself equal with God.* It was no robbery so to account himself, because he knew himself so to be. Yet, saith the apostle, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, *he did* (as it were) *empty himself*, or sequester this his greatness, and became less, or lower than the sons of men, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, by taking upon him the essential *state* or *condition* of a servant: being first made substantially man, that he might be for a time essentially and formally a servant. For though every man be not a servant, yet every servant must be a man. Now the Son of God being thus found in the form and garb of a man, and in the formal condition of a servant, *he humbled himself yet lower, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* And that was a kind of death unto which by the Roman laws (whereunto he yielded obedience) none but slaves, or malefactors of servile condition, were liable. And however many of this state or condition were put unto this ignominious death, yet none besides the man Christ Jesus did ever suffer it out of obedience or willingly, but for want of power to resist or eschew it. Had it been in the power of the most abject slaves that ever did suffer it, to have called in but half so many Roman soldiers to their rescue as Christ Jesus could have commanded of celestial angels, they would have sold their lives at a dearer rate than the emperors did which were slain in battle or mutiny.

3. But the man CHRIST JESUS, who was also the 765

true Son of God, and who, in that he was the Wisdom of God, did better know the horror or pains of a lingering death before he had experience of it as man, than any creature, man or angel, can do; when HE *was afflicted and tormented, yet he opened not his mouth; but was brought* (unto his cross) *like a lamb unto the slaughter, and as a sheep before his shearer is dumb, so opened he not his mouth.* Isaiah liii. 7. This far exceeded all obedience of any man whether free-born, or a slave. His patience in all his sufferings did far exceed the patience of dumb creatures, of lambs themselves, of worms, or meaner sensible passives. For none of them doth die a violent death without striving or reluctance, without endeavour to annoy such as afflict or torment them: whereas this lamb of God, to shew himself to be the mirror of patience and obedience, did pray for his persecutors, after the pangs of death more than natural had seized upon him; after he had been buffetted, spit upon, scourged, and every way most disgracefully abused; whilst he endured the lingering and cruel torments of the cross, exasperated with bitter scoffs and revilings of his unrelenting persecutors, (uncessantly pouring vinegar instead of oil into his wounds,) gave not the least signification of discontent, either by word or gesture towards God or man; unless some haply will put a sinister interpretation upon that exclamation when he was ready to die, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* But of the purport of this exclamation, by God's assistance, in its due time and place. In the interim, without prejudice to any man's person or authority, I rest persuaded that this speech beareth no character of discontent, much less of despair. To conclude this point. As there never was any sorrow like to his sorrow in his sufferings, so was there no obedience,

nor ever shall be any obedience, like to his, from the beginning to the end of his sufferings. This did further exceed all his sorrows, than his sorrows did the pains and sorrows of other men.

CHAP. II.

That the Dignity from which the Son of God had descended, and unto which the Son of Man was to be exalted, were testified by many Signs and Documents during the Time of his Humiliation.

1. UNTO this admirable lowliness of obedience, God awarded a correspondent degree of exaltation. For so the apostle inferreth in the words immediately following, Phil. ii. 9, &c.: *Wherefore* (or *For this cause*) *God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of JESUS every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* The same apostle, Rom. xiv. 9, tells us, *To this end Christ both died, rose and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* As man, he was made Lord from his resurrection, but as the Son of God, and a distinct person from his Father, he was Lord from eternity: as, to omit other places before cited, our apostle's in- 766
ference in Romans xiv. 10, 11, will make clear to any Christian that can take it into due consideration: *We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.* How is this proved, or whence had our apostle himself this revelation? From the prophet Isaiah, ch. xlv. 23: for there it is written, *As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess unto God.* Christ, then, not as man, but as God, was that Lord in whose name the prophet speak-

eth this: *As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me.*

2. Had this Lord, the only Son of God, taken our nature upon him, though adorned, even from the first moment of its assumption, with such majesty and glory as now it is; yet the assumption of it would have been an humiliation of the Son of God, not physical, but rather (as I said) civil, or *ad modum civilis humiliationis*, an incomparable and unparalleled affability, an incomprehensible lovingkindness. But for this Lord to be incarnate for us of a virgin; to take our nature upon him, charged with mortality and infirmities; to surcharge our ordinary human conditions with the extraordinary estate of a servant, to burden this hard servitude with pain and torture, with disgrace and ignominies, more than servitude human is capable of; this was that unexpressible humiliation and incomprehensible lovingkindness towards us miserable men, which our apostle so emphatically setteth forth for our pattern in submitting our wills to his most holy will, as he did his unto his Father's. And our Lord himself requireth that we should be humble as he is humble; not according to the measure of his humiliation, for that is as impossible for us, as to be as perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, or as holy as he is holy; yet must we be truly holy as our heavenly Father is holy, and sincerely humble as the Son of God, our Lord and Saviour, was humble. Our humiliation or obedience to his will, though it must be true, not hypocritical; yet in this life at the best, and in the best of men, is imperfect in comparison of the obedience of heavenly angels, thought heirs be but finite. But the depth of the humiliation of the Son of God is, as he is, immensurable, truly infinite. Higher than God he could not

be, but so high he was in glory and dignity from eternity: yet lower than man, than the most abject of the sons of men, he vouchsafed for a time to be, that we might be at least made equal to the angels, even lords and kings unto God, of slaves by birth and condition unto infernal tyrants.

3. But could he not have thus advanced us without any depression or humiliation of himself? Could not we sons of men be made happy without the misery and sorrow of the Son of God? The answer to this query will find place hereafter. That which for the present deserveth our consideration, is, that in all the several degrees of his humiliation, God the Father was still pleased to exhibit some visible documents or sensible manifestations of that glory and dignity, whereof his Son for a time had divested himself, and of that glory, unto which as man, for his faithful service done in our nature, he was to be exalted. His birth, we know, was mean in the eyes of men, his entertainment at his first coming into the world, (for lodging especially) more despicable than the lodging or entertainment of penitentiary pilgrims. Yet then welcomed into the world by an host of angels, sounding out gratulatory hymns unto God for the comfort of us miserable men, for whose sakes he who was their supreme Lord did 767
vouchsafe to descend thus low; and while they congratulate us, they do truly adore him. But seeing the ditties of their congratulatory hymns were heard only by some few, and those men of meaner rank in Jury; God would have his glory proclaimed by those wise and potent men, which had seen his star in the east, and from the glorious appearance, or secret significations made to them of it, came in person, first to Jerusalem, then to Bethlehem, to tender that homage and service to this Infant, which they scorned to perform

to Herod, or Augustus Cæsar, of whose greatness no doubt they had heard, but did not admire or esteem it in comparison of this late born King of the Jews. These and other glimpses of that glory which was due unto him perpetually as man, though publicly manifested, did not so much affect the stubborn-hearted Jews, as the meanness of his ordinary condition or state of life did offend them. No question but that voice which came from heaven at his baptism, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,* was heard by more than by John Baptist, and both testified and proclaimed by him to them that heard it not; and yet forgotten by most within three years' space: so deeply forgotten, that they did not call to memory, at least not lay it to heart, upon the second publication of his glory. For some few days before his sufferings, the like encomiasm of that glory which was due unto him as he was the Son of God was proclaimed from heaven, upon his prayers, to this purpose, when his soul was heavy, and troubled with expectation of approaching sorrows, John xii. 26, &c.; *If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will my Father honour. Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.* This document of his glory was more public than the former, and the end and scope of it more solemnly avouched by himself, vv. 29, 30: *The people therefore, that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered: others said, An angel spake to him. Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes.*

4. Yet even this gleam of his glorious brightness wherewith the people's eyes were for the present dazzled, was shortly after so overclouded with the ignominies and indignities done unto him, at his attachment, arraignment, and execution, that his very disciples had almost quite forgotten it. For so two of them give this and other glorious documents of his dignities for lost, after they had heard the news of his resurrection. *We trusted* (they say) *that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel:* Luke xxiv. 21. And what reason or pretence had they not to trust so still? Only because *the chief priests and rulers had delivered him to be condemned to death, and had crucified him,* ver. 20. A strange drowsiness had fallen upon them, in that they could not foresee that the day of his glorious reign over Israel thus foretokened by these and the like scattered rays or dawnings, was to be ushered by a troublesome night of sorrows and sufferings; and with this stupidity himself upbraids them. *Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to have entered into his glory?* Luke xxiv. 25, 26. Now all the sufferings, and other eclipses of this Sun of righteousness, were as clearly foretold as his future glory; both by express testimony and typical matter of fact. By express testimony, 768
Isaiah liii. 1, 2, 3; *Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with*

grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

5. But were those other interposed flashes of this day-star's brightness exhibited at his birth or first arising, at his baptism, and at his passion, as clearly foretold as the eclipse of it in his sufferings? That the angelical song or service of angels at his nativity were foretold by the psalmist, psalm xcvii. 7, I ever took it, following the paths of the ancient, as a plain case void of scruple, until Ribera stumbled me in my course, with a criticism upon the apostle's allegation of this passage, Heb. i. 6; ***And again, when he bringeth in the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.*** So our English, so Erasmus, and some of the most accurate Greek interpreters, according to the sense and meaning of our English. But this learned commentator renders it thus, (I must confess *verbatim*, according to the original,) *Et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terræ;* "when he bringeth his firstbegotten again into the world:" the words in the original are thus, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν, not πάλιν δὲ ὅταν. Upon this ground this good writer takes liberty to dissent from the best commentators that had gone before him, and peremptorily denieth this place to be meant of the Son of God's first coming into the world. And it cannot be denied but that this xcviith psalm contains a remarkable prophecy, that the Son of God, or God of Israel, should be made Lord and King, and Judge of the world, by peculiar right. This is one of those many places which (as in the former book hath been observed) cannot be meant of any, save only of him who was truly God, and yet could not be punctually fulfilled, save only of God incarnate. But Ribera should have considered

that one and the same passage in any psalm or prophecy might have been fulfilled in God incarnate at several times, and alike literally refer to several manifestations whether of his glory, or of his sufferings. Yea sometimes [a]one and the same place or proposition may literally and punctually refer both to his humiliation and exaltation, as that of the viiith psalm, ver. 5, *Thou hast made him little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.* Now if one and the same passage or prediction may be punctually fulfilled of God incarnate at several times, or at his nativity, his baptism, his transfiguration, and resurrection, &c., much more may several passages in one and the same psalm, or other prophecies, be respectively fulfilled, some of his nativity or resurrection, other of his coming to judgment. It is then no concludent proof, which Ribera brings in prejudice of the ancient to strengthen his own opinion, that the testimony alleged by the apostle, Heb. i. 6, out of psalm xcvii, cannot be literally meant of our Lord and Saviour's nativity; because the chief scope of that place, is to foretell his coming to judge the world, when he shall be attended with an host of angels. For if this attendance and obsequy be performed unto him, as is probable, by the whole host of heaven; the celebration of his nativity, or first coming into the world, by a band or company of these heavenly soldiers, (how many or how few, God only knows,) might be, and certainly was, a pledge or *præludium.* Nor doth 769
the placing of the words in the original necessarily argue but that the word πάλιν may have the same sense that it had in former places, that is, only a repetition of testimonies without express reference to Christ's first or second coming.

[a] See the seventh book, chap. 17. sect. 5.

In that xlth chapter of Isaiah before expounded [b], some passages (if not one and the same) literally refer to the incarnation, or first manifestation of the Word in the flesh, others to the declaration of him to be the Son of God at his baptism, which John Baptist acknowledged to be the end and tenor of his embassage. Where and in what manner that transcendant glimpse which was exhibited in the ἀκμὴ of his humiliation, John xii. 28, was foretold and foresignified, in its proper place. But the former query here opportunely presents itself again—Seeing such glory as these glimpses did portend was due unto him perpetually, what necessity or urgent conveniency was there, that he should be made so low, and so strangely humbled?

CHAP. III.

Whether our Sins could have been remitted without the Humiliation of the Son of God, is a Point not determinable by Men: that the Manner of the remitting our Sins by his Humiliation was the most admirable Way which Wisdom, Justice, or Mercy could require.

1. PEREMPTORILY to avouch that God could not have remitted the sins of our first parents without full satisfaction, nor advanced their sinful seed unto glory without the disgraceful sufferings of his only Son, would by some, and well might, be censured for a saucy doctrine: a doctrine, more derogatory from the omnipotent Majesty, than it would be to prerogatives royal, to deny kings, or free princes invested with it, the exercise of that most princely virtue, clemency, or to grant a prohibition against them in case they should freely forgive offences committed against themselves, or afterwards honour the parties thus freely forgiven,

[b] In the seventh book, chap. 28.

upon their extraordinary thankfulness for such gracious favours. This benignity no loyal subject will grudge or repine at, when it is practised by his liege lord and sovereign; and shall we deny the like freedom to infinite Majesty, whereof benignity and graciousness infinite is (to speak after the manner of men) a special branch or dimension.

2. Yet, on the other side, resolutely to determine that the sins of our first parents could have been remitted without satisfaction, or their seed advanced to glory without the humiliation of the Son of God, would be a rash, if not an unsound resolution. For albeit we take it for granted, that earthly princes of the best temper may freely pardon any offences against themselves, and crown this special favour with the advancement of the persons so offending, to higher place and greater honour than formerly they did enjoy; yet will it not hence follow, that the Omnipotent and most just Judge might have done the like. For He is not of majesty or of gracious goodness only, but of justice truly infinite; the immutable and indispensable rule of justice and goodness. And He alone who is wisdom truly infinite can determine whether the remission of 770
men's sins without satisfaction, or the award of glory without some interposition of merits, do not imply some contradiction to the rule of justice infinite, which they do not imply to infinite majesty or benignity. The greatest majesty on earth may more justly pardon offences done against themselves, than they can do the like offences against the public law itself, or the community of men under their government. For earthly princes, how great or good soever they be, are no living laws of goodness, no living rules of justice. This is the prerogative of the Almighty Lord,

to be both a most righteous Judge, and the very law or ideal rule of righteousness.

3. Not princes only, but every private person or public magistrate, (so they sit not in the seat of justice,) may pardon a crime for its nature capital, if it be only committed against themselves: as, if a servant should take his master's purse, not by violence, but unwarily laid aside, and deny the finding, taking, or restoring of it; the master may, without wounding his conscience, dismiss the party delinquent of his service, without calling his life in question, although the crime be, by human law, capital. Nor should the master, I take it, by this clemency incur the danger of the human law, if he be as well content to lose the money as the delinquent's service. In this case, he may do to the worst of his servants as he desires it may be done to him, if his case or condition were the same. But if of a private master he should become a public judge, and shew the same favour to him that had been his servant, being arraigned for the like offence committed against another; he should hereby grievously transgress both the law of God and man. The true reason whereof is, not because the former rule, of *doing as he would be done unto*, doth hold, as one of late (out of the spirit of contradiction rather than judgment) hath taught, not universally or always, but *ad plurimum*, for the most part, or now and then, or more certainly in private men than public magistrates: for they, especially, are most strictly tied to that fundamental rule of justice and equity, of *doing as they would be done unto*. But seeing, as the great casuist Gerson somewhere observes, every judge sustains a double person; one of his own, as he is subject to the like infirmities with other men; another of the public

weal, or community wherein he liveth: hence it is, or should be, that how merciful or gracious soever he be by natural disposition, or grace, yet when he ascends the seat of justice he must lay aside his private person, all private considerations, and arm himself with the public. Now the object of the observance of the former rule, of doing as he would be done unto, is not the person or party accused or arraigned, but the persons whom he wronged, or may hereafter wrong. The greatest judge in this case must do to the common-weal, whereof he himself is a member, as he desires it should be done to himself in like case, that is, to right them when they are wronged, and to protect them from further danger, by putting wholesome laws in execution, for cutting off noisome members of public society.

4. But what of all this? God is no member of any community, being in himself far greater and better than the whole universe of things visible and invisible; and for this reason not bound to conform himself to any of the former rules, which greatest princes are by his law bound to observe. However, he is immutable goodness itself, more than the rule of all those rules of mercy, justice, and goodness, which he enjoins 771
us to follow. It is most true, he can do whatsoever he will, yet cannot any thing be willed by him that is contrary to goodness, justice, or mercy. Though his mercies exceed the mercies of the best men; yet some sins there are which exempt men from participation of his mercies, sins unpardonable to mercy itself: so saith our Saviour, Mark iii. 28, 29; *Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger*

of eternal damnation. And St. Matthew, more fully, chap. xii. 31; *Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* It is not the sole infinity of that Majesty against which we sin, that makes the sin so unpardonable; for the Father is of infinite Majesty, the Son is of infinite Majesty, and the Holy Ghost can be no more: their Majesty and Glory is coeternal and coequal. The sin here meant then cannot be any special sin more offensive against the person of the Holy Ghost than against the person of the Father, or the Son. Nor is it (whatsoever else it be) any one sin specifically distinct from other sins, as murder is from lust, or lust from pride and envy, but rather a confluence of many grievous sins: it always presupposeth a great measure of long continued contempt of God's special favour, gifts, or goodness. Those whom our Saviour in the forecited places forewarns, as being at the pit brink of this infernal bottomless sin, were, as St. Mark tells us, *Scribes that came down from Jerusalem,* Mark iii. 22; and as St. Matthew adds, *Pharisees* too, Matt. xii. 24. Both of them had seen or heard our Saviour's miracles, which were so pregnant, that they could not deny the truth of them. The particular miracle which occasioned this discourse was the healing of one possessed of a devil, *insomuch that being blind and dumb before, he both spake and saw; and all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the Son of David? And when the Pharisees heard it,* (or as St. Mark adds, *the Scribes*

which** came down from Jerusalem,) they said, This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of devils,* Matt. xii. 22—24, Mark iii. 22. And St. Mark giving the reason why our Saviour, after he had called the Scribes and Pharisees to him, and debated this controversy with them, did forewarn them in special of this dangerous sin, addeth, ***Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit, Mark iii. 30.

5. Into this fearful sin, or rather high measure of sin, of whose danger our Saviour so graciously forewarns these Scribes and Pharisees, those convert Hebrews, to whom St. Paul wrote that excellent Epistle, were ready, without his like admonitions, to fall. *It is impossible* (saith he) *for those men who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify unto themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but that which bringeth forth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing;* 772 *whose end is to be burned.* Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6. Others perhaps, in those times, had either incurred this sentence here denounced, or stood in greater danger than these Hebrews did, of whom our apostle at this time had good hope: ***But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye***

have ministered towards his saints, and do minister. Heb. vi. 9, 10. Of our apostle's punctual meaning or sense in these two verses last cited, as of all the rest unto the end of the chapter, I shall have occasion hereafter to treat. Of the former verses, I have no more for this present, or hereafter (for aught I know) to say, than this; that their meaning, if any be disposed to scan them more exactly, may (I take it) be best illustrated by the type or parallel exhibited in the days of Moses, in those men which were excluded by oath from the land of Canaan, Numb. xiv. 20—23: *And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word: but as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord. Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice; surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it.* All these, which were all the males of Israel above twenty years of age, save Caleb, Joshua, and Moses, (who was in part involved in this sentence,) did bear a true type or shadow of those, who, offending in like manner against Christ and his gospel, we call *reprobates*, yet not so true types of such a sin against the Holy Ghost as those which went to search the land of Canaan. *And the men, which Moses sent to search the land, who returned, and made all the congregation to murmur against him, by bringing up a slander upon the land, even those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land,* (after they had seen the goodliness, and tasted the pleasant fruits of it,) *died of the plague before the Lord. But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the*

son of Jephunneh, which were of the men that went to search the land, lived still: and many happy days after that time, Numb. xiv. 36—38.

6. Very probable it is, though I will not determine *pro* or *con*, that the irremissible sin whereof our Saviour and St. Paul spake, for which there remaineth no satisfaction, was, if not peculiar, yet *epidemical* unto those primitive times, wherein the kingdom of heaven was first planted here on earth by our Saviour: and the holy catholic church was in erection by the ministry of the apostles, or in times wherein the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were most plentiful and most conspicuous. Even in those times, into this woful estate none could fall *which had not tasted of the heavenly gift, of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, and had not been partakers of the Holy Ghost.* Nor did such men fall away by ordinary sins, but by relapse into Jewish blasphemy, or heathenish idolatry, and malicious slander of the kingdom of heaven, of whose power they had tasted. God was good to all his creatures in their creation, and better to men in their redemption by Christ; of this latter goodness, all men were in some degree partakers. The contempt or neglect of this goodness was not irremissible: the parties thus far offending, and no further, were not excluded from the 773
benefit of Christ's satisfaction, or from renewing by repentance: but of the gifts of the Spirit, which was plentifully poured out after our Saviour's ascension, all were not partakers. This was a special favour, or peculiar goodness, whose continued contempt, or solemn abrenunciation by relapse either into heathenism or Jewish blasphemy, was unpardonable; not in that it was a sin peculiarly committed against the person of the Holy Ghost; but because it did include an extra-

ordinary opposition unto the indispensable law of justice or goodness, which God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are.

7. Some sins then there be, or some measure of them, which being made up, no satisfaction will be accepted for them. It is impossible, according to the sacred phrase, that the parties thus delinquent should be renewed by repentance. But whether, according to this dialect of the Holy Ghost, that grand sin, whereof our Saviour and the apostle speaks, be absolutely irremissible until death hath determined their impenitency which committed it, or only exceeding dangerous in comparison of other sins, I will not here dispute; much less dare I take upon me to determine either branch of the main question proposed: as, 'Whether satisfaction were absolutely necessary for remitting the sins of our first parents, or their seed?' or, 'Whether the Son of God could have brought us sinners unto glory by any other way or means than that which is revealed unto us in his gospel?' It shall suffice me (and so I request the reader it may do him) to shew, that this revealed way is the most admirable for the sweet concurrence of wisdom, justice, mercy, and whatsoever other branches of goodness else be, which the heart of man can conceive; more admirable by much than wisdom finite could have contrived, or our miserable condition desired, unless it had been revealed unto us by God himself.

8. For demonstration of this conclusion, and for deterring all which pretend unto the privilege or dignity of being the sons of God, from continuance in sin, no principle of faith or passage in the sacred canon can be of better use than that, 1 John iii. 8; *He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of*

God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. However, the words which several translations do render one and the same word in the orignal (ἵνα λύσῃ) be of different signification in point of grammar, yet is there no contradiction betwixt them upon the matter. Our later English, which I alleged, readeth, *that he might destroy*, the former, *that he might dissolve the works of the devil.* Neither of them much amiss, and both of them put together, or mutually helping one another, exceeding well. Some works of the devil the Son of God is said more properly *to dissolve*, others, more properly *to destroy.* Sin itself, as the apostle tells us, is the proper work of the devil, his perpetual work; for he sinneth from the beginning. And for this cause the man that committeth sin is of the devil, the devil's workman, or day labourer, so long as he continues in known sins. Sin, the best of men daily do. But it is one thing to sin, and do a sinful act, another to be ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, the phrase used by our apostle, *a worker*, or *doer of evil, operarius iniquitatis:* such workmen the sons of God or servants of Christ cannot be, at least so long as they continue sons or servants.

The points most questionable in those forecited words of St. John, now to be discussed in this pre- 774
amble to the manner how the Son of God did dissolve or destroy the works of the devil, are two: the first, from what *beginning* the devil is said to sin, or to continue in sin; the second, what special works of the devil they were which the Son of God did or doth undo, or for whose dissolution or destruction he was manifested in our flesh.

CHAP. IV.

From what Beginning *the Devil is said by St. John to sin. Whether sin consist in mere Privation, or have a positive Entity, or a Cause truly efficient, not deficient only.*

1. THE word *beginning* is sometimes taken universally and absolutely, as it reacheth to the first moment of time, or to the first beginning of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible, which have beginning of being. [a] From this utmost extent of the word *beginning*, St. John, in the beginning or entrance into his Gospel, strongly infers, that ὁ Λόγος, *the Word*, by whom all things were made, was truly God, without beginning or end of days, because he was *in the beginning*, that is, had a true and real existence, when all things, whether visible or invisible, which were created by him, did but begin to be. But *the beginning* mentioned by the same apostle in the forecited place, 1 John iii. 8, may not be stretched so far as to make it pitch upon the first beginning of time, or of all things made or created. First, it is neither certain nor probable that any of the angelical substances were created, or begun to be, before all other creatures. Secondly, it cannot be certainly known whether the blessed angels which keep their station and the collapsed angels were all created in the same instant; or if it were certain or granted that some of them were created before others, though all of the same day, yet could there be no certainty or probability that the collapsed angel which is become a devil (or prince of devils, *who*, St. John saith, *sinned from the beginning*) was created before all other angels, or with the first that were created. Most probable it is, (in my opinion,) that the angels were all created in the

[a] See the seventh book, chap. 26. sect. 34.

fourth evening and morning, together with the sun and moon, and the stars of the firmament, two days before man was created. Thus much those words of God unto Job, chap. xxxviii. 4, seem to import: *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the world,* &c. *or when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?* If by *the sons of God,* in this place, the angels be meant, then Lucifer, by which name we commonly describe the devil, was then the son of God, an angel of light, and did, with the whole host of heaven, praise, laud, and magnify his Creator: whensoever he was created, God created him righteous and just.

2. Now albeit he was the first of all God's visible creatures that became evil, though sin itself did take its beginning from him, yet undoubtedly he had a perfect being before sin did begin to be in him; he did not, he could not sin in the same point of duration in which he was created. Some, therefore, for this reason, refer *the beginning* mentioned in St. John to the beginning of sin, as if his meaning in their construc- 775
tion were thus: Satan sinneth perpetually from the beginning of sin, which had its first beginning in him. But though this be true, yet if we stretch *the beginning* of our apostle thus far, it will not *close* so well with his collection or inferences: for the devil in the same place is instyled *a sinner* from the beginning especially, if not only, with reference to those works which the Son of God was to dissolve or destroy. But the Son of God did not manifest himself on purpose to dissolve the works which the devil had wrought in himself, or in the collapsed angels his associates; but the works only which they had wrought in man. For this cause saith the apostle, *He took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham,* Heb. ii. 16. As the devil is a

liar, and father of lies since the beginning, so he was a sinner, not only in himself, but the beginner or begetter of sin in man. And since he first begot sin in him, he sinneth still as a worker or foster-father of sins in man's posterity.

3. Whether our first parents did sin upon the same day whereon they were created, is to me uncertain: and for this reason I will not dispute either upon the improbabilities or probabilities of the affirmative opinion which is maintained by many, of whose opinion I had rather make some good use, than move any controversy about it. Most certain it is, that the old serpent and his associates were sinners themselves before they seduced our first parents to that first and heinous sin of mankind. Whether one or more of them had possessed the visible *serpent*, which Moses saith was *subtiler than all the beasts of the field*, (as the fittest instrument or organ,) for accomplishing their design against poor innocent man, his ruin was projected before he or they could accomplish it. Most probable again it is, that they had grievously sinned against their God and Creator, if not before, yet at least from the creation, or first beginning of man, whose estate they envied: yet whether they were irreversibly cast out of God's gracious presence before the accomplishment of this their project against man is not so certain; more probable to me it is, that the accomplishment of this wicked project, which they could not hope to effect but by slandering their Creator, did make up the measure of their former sins unto an unpardonable height; unto an height more unpardonable than the sin against the Holy Ghost is in men during this life. For we read not of any curse or woful sentence pronounced, much less peremptorily denounced against the old serpent and his associates, until God had convented this visible serpent, and the woman whom

he had beguiled. But the curse denounced against that visible serpent did fall upon the whole legion of unclean spirits, which had possessed it, or used it as their instrument, though perhaps possessed but by one.

4. In this seduction of our first parents (if not before) the devil committed sin, no less than rebellion or high treason against his Maker. In this alone, if not otherwise, he proudly sought to be like God, in that he made man, of a servant or son of God, to become his slave or vassal. He was of Julius Cæsar's mind, or rather, Julius Cæsar of his; and more affected to be lord paramount over earth and the visible creatures in it, than inferior or compeer to any celestial creature. And no marvel or matter of wonderment it is, if this combination of rebellion against God, and of envy against man, by God appointed the supreme lord of all visible creatures, did make the breach of Satan's 776
allegiance to his Creator so irreconcilable, that the true and only Son of God would not vouchsafe to become his Lord Redeemer, as he is of men, whom he seduced. But whether St. John's meaning in the forecited place be, that the devil sinneth from the beginning of sin in man, or from the beginning of sin in himself; from the one or from the other beginning, he still continueth to sin against God and man without end or intermission.

5. But is sin in man in deed and truth the work of Satan? If truly and properly it be a work, it is something, or more than something, as being the work of him who doth not busy himself about small matters. It must be a thing either visible or invisible; and if it be comprehended under either part of this division, why are we taught to believe that God the Father Almighty is the maker not only of heaven and earth, but of all things visible and invisible in them? If all

things were made by him, what could be left for Satan to work or make? The appearance of this difficulty moved that acute and learned father St. Austin sometime to say, that sin was nothing, and oftentimes to allot it a cause deficient only, denying it any true positive efficient. And many good writers since his time, in our days especially, overswayed with this father's bare authority, will have sins of what kind soever to be privations only, no positive entities. But they consider not that the selfsame difficulties, besides other greater more inevitable inconveniences, will press them no less who make sin to be a mere privation, or to have a cause deficient only, than they do others who acknowledge it to have a positive efficient cause, and a being more than merely privation.

6. What then be the special inconveniences wherewith their opinions are charged, which make sin either nothing, or but a mere privation? First, we account it a folly in man, a folly incident to no man, but an *heautontimorymenon*, to be angry or chafing hot for nothing. Hence seeing the Almighty Judge doth never punish either man or devil but for sin, we shall cast a foul aspersion on his wisdom and justice, by maintaining sin to be nothing. But fewer in our times there be (though some I have heard out of the pulpit, which under pretence of St. Augustin's authority) make sin to be mere nothing: but many there be who hold it to be a mere privation, which is a mean between mere nothing and a positive entity. Yet admitting (not granting) the nature of sin to consist formally in privation; mere privations for the most part have causes truly efficient, fewer, causes merely deficient, if there can be any causality in deficiency. *Blindness*, *deafness*, *dumbness*, are privations; and yet more men lose the sense of *hearing*, *sight*, or *feeling*,

(in some particular members,) by violent blows, or by oppression of raging humours, than by mere defect or decaying of spirits. And where one man drops into his grave for mere age, (as ripe apples do from the trees they grow on to the ground, without blasts of wind or shaking,) a thousand die a violent or untimely death, by true and positive efficient causes, either external or internal.

7. That which either hath deceived or emboldened many divines to allot sin a being only privative, is a philosophical or metaphysical maxim most true in itself, or in its proper sphere, but most impertinently applied to the point now in question. The maxim is, *Omne ens, qua ens, est bonum:* Every entity, in that it hath a being, is good. Most true, if we speak of transcendental goodness, or *bonum entis:* for every thing 777
which hath a true being is accompanied with a goodness entitative. But the question amongst divines is or should be about moral goodness, or that goodness which is opposed to *malum culpæ,* that evil which we call sin. Now if every positive entity or nature were necessarily good, according to this notion of goodness, every intelligent rational creature should be as impeccable as his Creator, and we should truly sin (if to speak untruly be a sin) when we say the devil is a knave, or any man dishonest. For if every nature or entity (as such) were morally good, it were impossible any nature or positive entity should be evil qualified, should be laden with sin, that is, with that evil which is opposed to goodness moral, or to holiness, whether this evil be a mere privation, or positive entity. For inasmuch as the sight or visive faculty is the property of the eye, or inasmuch as this proposition is true, *Oculus, qua oculus videt;* this conclusion is most necessary, When the eye hath lost the sight, or visive

faculty, it is no more an eye, unless in such an equivocal sense as we say a picture hath eyes, though not so properly. If a man cannot see (as we say) a stime but with one eye, we account it no solecism to say he hath lost the other. The case in the former instances is more clear: if Satan or man were morally good, because they have a positive entity or nature, neither of them could possibly be morally evil, neither of them sinful creatures, albeit we should grant sin to be as mere a privation as blindness is.

8. It is a maxim in true logic, (that is, in the faculty or science of reasoning absolutely true,) and therefore true in divinity also, (for truth is but one, and it is her property not to contradict herself, though examined in several subjects,) *Quicquid convenit subjecto qua tale, non potest abesse sine subjecti interitu:* No natural property can cease to be, or perish, but together with the subject which supports it. Whence, if that angel which is now the devil had been truly good, *qua angelus*, or if goodness (moral) had belonged unto him as he was a positive entity or rational creature, he had ceased to be either a rational creature or any thing else when he lost his goodness.

9. Of sins of omission, it is most true that they find place in our nature rather by deficiency than efficiency, and yet even this deficiency, for the most part, is occasioned by some formal positive act or habit. For this cause it is questioned among schoolmen, Whether there is or can be any sin of mere omission, that is, not occasioned by the commission of some other sinful acts precedent, or linked with some such act present. To deny all sins of mere omission in nature already corrupted, would be more probable than in the first sin whether of man or angel. Neither of them could possibly have committed sin, or done that which they

ought not to have done, without some precedent omission of that which they ought to have done. But of this elsewhere more at large, and somewhat of it briefly in the next chapter.

10. Sure I am, that the work which Satan wrought in our first parents, and in our nature, had a cause truly efficient, hath a being more than merely privative: for it was a work so really great, and so cunningly contrived, that the strength and wisdom of the Son of God was required (as being only all-sufficient) to dissolve or destroy it; and is it possible that any so great a work could be wrought by deficiency, or a defective worker? Not Satan only, but his instruments are as positive, as industrious efficients, 778
as effectual workers of iniquity, as the best man which ever lived (the man Christ Jesus only excepted) was or is of righteousness. But it is true again, that neither Satan nor his instruments can produce or make any substances or subjects: these are all the works of God, whether they be visible or invisible. What shall we say then, that God did create any naked substances, and leave it free for angel or other his creatures to invest them with what accidents or qualities they pleased? No: if God had created any substances without accidents, they should have been morally neither good nor bad: for all other natures besides the incomprehensible Essence, who only essentially is, and whose Essence is goodness itself, though they were made actually good, yet their goodness was mutable; it was but an accident or quality, no essential property. What shall we say then to the proposed objection, 'That sin, if it be any thing, either visible or invisible, must be of God's making, not the work of Satan, seeing we acknowledge God to be the maker of all things visible and invisible?'

11. The punctual answer is, 'That this universal, *God made all things visible and invisible*, must be extended only to those things which are properly said to be made or created.' Now substances only, whether visible or invisible, are the immediate and direct effects and proper object of creation. Accidents had their beginning, as appurtenances to their subjects, by resultance only. That goodness which God approved in man did result from his nature, not *qua talis*, but as it was the immediate work of God; it had no making or creation distinct from the creation of man. He that *moulds* a bullet, or makes a material sphere, maketh both *round*, and yet we cannot say that he makes *rotundity* or *roundness* by any work or action distinct from the making of the bullet or sphere. *Facta sphæra simul fit rotunditas:* that which the artificer intends is a sphere, yet cannot he possibly make a sphere, but rotundity will by resultance arise with it or from it. In like manner, when God made man he made him after his own image and similitude; this was the mould in which he was cast; and being cast into this mould he could not but be good.

12. The human nature, as framed by God, was like a musical instrument exactly made and exactly tuned both at once, not first made and then tuned. That body of earth into which the Almighty Creator first inspired the breath of life, was not first a man in *puris naturalibus*, and afterwards adorned or beautified with original justice. That spirit of life which God inspired into him did so tune and season the whole mass or substance, that his reasonable soul or spirit did forthwith hold exact harmony with the Creator's will. His inferior faculties or affections held exact consort with his reason. All this was the work of God, and with this harmony was God delighted; yet this harmony,

though most exact, was mutably exact. The goodness or excellency of this sweet harmony in the human nature became the object of Satan's envy, and the mutability of this excellency became the subject of his temptations, a subject capable of enticements unto evil. The only mark which Satan aimed at was to deface or dissolve this work of God, and, instead of this sweet harmony, to plant a perpetual discord in the human nature; a discord, an enmity betwixt the soul and spirit of man and his God; a discord, an enmity or civil war betwixt man's conscience and his affections. 779 Satan then did deface or dissolve the work of God; and the Son of God was manifested to dissolve his works in man, and to destroy his power.

CHAP. V.

Of the first Sin of Angels and Man, and wherein it did especially consist.

1. WITH the nature of sin in general, or according to that extent proposed in the beginning of the former book, I meddle not in these present commentaries, but have reserved them to another work already begun in a dialect more capable of such school-niceties or disquisitions than our English is. About the nature or specifical quality of the sin of Lucifer, (so it hath pleased the ancients to style that prince of the collapsed angels,) some question there is amongst divines, and the like about the quality or nature of our first parents' sin, as, whether one or both of them were pride or infidelity. But *infidelity* in its proper use and signification is rather a symptom or concomitant of many sins precedent than any one sin, a distrust of God's mercy for pardoning sins committed. It is to my capacity unconceivable how the first sin of what

creature soever should be infidelity, or how the first degree of infidelity could find entrance into man or angel without some positive forerunning sin. But if by infidelity those divines, whose expressions in this point I cannot approve, mean no more than incogitancy, or want of consideration, we shall accord upon the matter. For without the omission of somewhat which they ought to have done, neither man nor angel could have sinned so positively and grossly as both of them did. Both were bound to have made the goodness of their Creator, in making them such glorious creatures as they were, the choice and most constant object of their first thoughts and contemplations. But through want of stirring up that grace of God which they received in their creation, or by not exercising their abilities to reflect upon the goodness and greatness of their Creator, they were surprised with a desire of proper excellency, or of greater dignity than they were capable of. By this means, that sin which was begun by incogitancy, or want of reflection upon the true object of their bliss, was accomplished in pride: for pride naturally results in men from too much reflection upon their own good parts. And whilst they compare themselves with themselves (as our apostle speaketh) they become unwise, or, which is worse, whilst they compare their own good parts with others' mean parts, (whether such indeed, or to their apprehension,) they slide without recovery into that foul sin of hypocrisy. All men by nature (that is, from the unweeded relics of our first parents' pride) are prone to overvalue themselves, and to thirst after greater dignities than they deserve or are qualified for. This pride or ambition in the angels was presently seconded with envy (as foul a vice as pride itself, and its usual compeer and companion) against the new and

last-made visible creature man; and envy did as speedily bring forth that malicious practice against our first parents, which (as was said before) in probability did 780
make their sin more unpardonable than the sin of our first parents was.

2. But admitting both their first positive sins to have been for nature or specifical quality desire of proper excellency, whose branches are pride and ambition, this position admitted will beget a new question or disquisition, to wit, What manner of proper excellency or what degree of pride it was, for which their just Creator did punish them? Some are of opinion, that the height of that proper excellency at which the angels (at least one angel) did aim, was personal union with the Son of God, or God himself. But this opinion, without prejudice to the authors or abettors of it, is very improbable, because the mystery that the Son of God should become a creature, or take any created substance into the unity of his person, was not, for aught I have read, or can gather from any passage in scripture, revealed either explicitly or implicitly before the fall of man, or before his convention for his apostasy from God, which was not until the first day of the second week at soonest, when the world was (as we say) in *facto*, not in *fieri* only, as it respectively was in the first week, or seven days. When this opinion, that the assumption of any creature into unity of person with the Son of God, or with any person in the blessed Trinity, was either known or probably conceived by man or angel before the fall of man, shall be sufficiently proved, I shall yield assent to their opinion as probable, who think the first sin of Lucifer was a desire or longing after personal union with the Son of God, or God himself. No question but the old serpent had sinned more grievously in the

same kind than our first parents did, when the woman by his cunning and malice, and the man by her prevarication, did taste the forbidden fruit, in hope or expectation to be made thereby like to Elohim, or God himself.

3. But was it possible that either the collapsed angels, or man by their suggestion, should attempt or desire to be equal with God, or to be Gods Almighty? To be in all points coequal with God was perhaps more than Lucifer himself did desire; yet that even our first parents desired to be in some sort or other equal with God, is probable from the apostle's character of the Son of God; *He being*, saith he, *in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.* This, to my understanding, implies, that the robbery or sacrilege committed by our first parents, for which the Son of God did humble and engage himself to make satisfaction, was their proud or haughty attempt to be equal with God, at least in knowledge of good and evil. And yet, as was said before, the collapsed angels had doubtless sinned more presumptuously before they tempted our first parents to the like sin. Neither man nor angel could have affected equality in any one attribute with their Creator, much less in all, or most, so they had made his glory, power, or majesty, the chief or principal object of their first contemplations. But how far the previal sin of omitting this duty might let loose their strong and swift imaginations, unbalanced with experience, or what entrance it might work for that desperate and positive sin of ambition, or seeking to be equal or like to God for power and wisdom, God and they only know, if haply they now know, or perfectly remember the manner of their first transgressions. Many things many learned and wise men do, and attempt more,

through incogitancy, want of consideration, (or *ad* 781
pauca respicientes,) which by men of meaner parts would be suspected for a spice of madness, if they had taken them into serious consideration before.

4. There is no Christian man, I am persuaded, this day living, (unless he be stark mad,) who if this interrogatory were propounded unto him in express terms, 'Whether do you think yourself altogether as wise as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?' but would answer negatively, 'I am not.' And yet how many writers in our time, through forgetfulness to put this or the like interrogatory to themselves when they set pen to paper, have continued for many years together grievously sick of our first parents' first disease, whatsoever that were, yet not sick of it in explicit desires or attempts to be every way equal with God, but in implicit presumptions that they are altogether equal with him in wisdom and knowledge, at least for the governing of this universe from the beginning of it to the end, and for the dispensing of mercy and justice towards men and angels, before they had any beginning of being, and for ever, even world without end after this visible world shall be dissolved. To give a true and punctual answer to all their presumptuous contrivances, or to accept their challenges in this kind, would require more skill in arts than most men are endowed with, and a great deal more time than any wise man or skilful artist can be persuaded to mispend. It would be a very hard task for the cunningest needlewoman, or other professor of manual or finger-mysteries, to unweave or dissolve a spider's web, thread by thread, after the same manner which she did weave it; and yet a mean housewife or child may, with a wing or besom, in a moment undo all that the spider hath wrought in

a whole year. And so may every novice in arts unbubble all that some great clerks or schoolmen have been twenty or thirty years in contriving or working, (as in setting forth maps or systems of the manner of God's decrees before all times, or disputes about election or reprobation, as they are immanent acts in him,) with that common but useful exception, ***aut nihil, aut nimium.*** Their conclusions might (for aught I know) be unanswerable and sound, upon supposition that they are every whit as wise as God. But this being not granted them, or the contradictory being granted, 'that the Omnipotent Creator is δὶς διὰ πασῶν, wiser than they are,' the most elaborate and longest studied treatises, which it hath been my hap upon these arguments to see, afford no document of greater strength or cunning than is exhibited in the spider's web. The authors of them tell us only (and herein we believe them) what they themselves would have done if they had been delegated to make decrees or acts for the government of men and angels, or what God should have done if they had been of his privy council when he made all things visible and invisible. But what God doth, hath done, or will do according to the sole counsel of his most holy will, that they shew us not, nor go about to shew, whilst they run the clean contrary way to that which God our Father, and the church our mother, hath prescribed us to follow. Now the way which the English church, from the warrant of God's word, to this purpose prescribes, is to admire, not to determine, the equity of God's decrees before all times, from contemplation of the manner of their execution or sweet disposition of his providence in time. It is a preposterous presumption to determine the manner how they have been or shall be executed, by

prying into the projection or contrivance of the Almighty Judge, before man or angel, or any thing 782
besides God himself, had any being.

5. He sinned grievously that said in his heart, or secret unexamined thought, *Similis ero altissimo* (whether this be meant of Nebuchadnezzar, or some other earthly tyrant only, or literally of one or more of them, and mystically of Lucifer); but they sin no less for the act which say in their hearts, or presuppose in their implicit thoughts, *Altissimus est simillimus mihi*; 'The most high God hath determined nothing concerning men or angel otherwise than we would have done, if we had been in his place.' They preposterously usurp the same power which God in his first creation did justly exercise, who, though not expressly, yet by inevitable consequence and by implicit thoughts, make a God after their own image and similitude; a God, not according to the relics of that image wherein he made our first parents, but after the corruptions or defacements of it, through partiality, envy, pride, and hatred towards their fellow creatures. But of the original of transforming the Divine nature into the similitude of man's corrupted nature, I have elsewhere long ago delivered my mind at large[a]. And I would to God some, (as I conjecture,) offended with what I there observed, (without any reference or respect either to their persons or their studies,) had not verified the truth of my observations in a larger measure than I then did conceive they could have been really ratified, or exemplified by the meditation or practice of any rational man. This transformation of the Divine nature, which is in some sort or degree common to

[a] In the Fifth Book of Commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed; or, a Treatise containing the Original of Unbelief, &c. See the former treatise, chap. 44, 45, &c.

most men, is (in the least degree of it) one of those works of the devil which the Son of God came into the world to dissolve by doctrine, by example, and exercise of his power. But what be the rest of those works besides this? All, I take it, may be reduced to these general heads: first, the actual sins of our first parents; secondly, the remainder or effects of this sin, whether in our first parents or in their posterity, to wit, that more than habitual or hereditary corruption, which we call sin original; thirdly, sins adventitious or acquired, that is, such vicious acts or habits as do not necessarily issue from that sin which descends unto us from our first parents, but are voluntarily produced in particular men by their abuse of that portion of freewill which was left in our first parents and in their posterity; and that was a true freedom of will, though not to do well or ill, yet at least *inter mala*, to do less or greater evil, or to do this or that particular, ill or worse. Original sin is rather in us *ad modum habitus*, than an habit properly so called. All other habitual sins or vices are not acquired but by many unnecessitated vicious acts: but to distinguish between vice and sin, or between vicious habits and sinful habits, is (to my capacity) a work (or attempt rather) of the same nature, as if one should go about to divide a point into two portions, or a mathematical line into two parallels.

6. Nor are these sins enumerated, nor sin itself formally taken, the only works of the devil which the Son of God came to destroy; but these sins with their symptoms and resultances: for the devil sinneth from the beginning in continual tempting men to sin, although his temptations do not always take effect: he sinneth likewise in accusing men before their Creator, or soliciting greater vengeance than their sins

in favourable construction deserve. Now that neither his temptations nor accusations do always find that success which he intends, this is merely from the mercy and lovingkindness of our Creator, in sending 783
his Son to dissolve the works of Satan. The general symptom or resultance of all sin, original or actual, is servitude, or slavery unto Satan, and the wages of his servitude, is death; not this hereditary servitude only, but death, which is the wages of it, is the work of Satan: yet a work which the Son of God doth not utterly destroy until the general resurrection of the dead. Nor shall it then be destroyed in any in whom the bonds of the servitude and slavery unto sin have not been by the same Son of God dissolved whilst they lived on earth. He was first manifested in the flesh, and form of a servant, to pay the ransom of our sins, and to untie the bonds and fetters of sin in general. He was manifested in his resurrection to dissolve or break the reign of sin within every one of us: for, as the apostle speaks, *He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification.* And he shall lastly be manifested, or appear in glory, utterly to destroy sin and death: *Christ* (saith the apostle) *was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.* Heb. ix. 28.

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SECTION II.

Of the more special qualifications and undertakings of the Son of God, for dissolving the works which the devil had wrought in our first parents and in our nature, and for cancelling the bond of mankind's servitude unto Satan.

CHAP. VI.

Of the peculiar Qualifications of the Son of God for dissolving the first actual Sin of our first Parents, and the Relics of it, whether in them or in us their sinful Posterity.

1. THE qualifications or undertakings of the Son of God for dissolving or remitting such actual sins as do not necessarily issue from our first parents, and for bringing them and us unto greater glory than they affected, do challenge their place or proper seat in the treatise designed to his exaltation after death, and his consecration to his everlasting priesthood. We are now to prosecute the points proposed in the title of this section, and in the first place such points as were proposed in the title of this chapter.

2. The rule is universally true in works natural, civil, and supernatural, but true with some special allowances: *Unum quodque eodem modo dissolvitur, quo constituitur:* Though the constitution and dissolution of the same work include two contrary motions, yet the manner or method by which both are wrought is usually the same, only the order is inverted. And we should the better know how man's first transgression was dissolved by the Son of God, if we first knew how it was wrought by Satan, or wherein the

sin itself did properly consist. Infidelity or disobedience it could not be; for these are symptoms of sins already hatched. Whatsoever else it was, the first transgression was pride, or ambitious desire of independent immortality. Now the Son of God begun his work where Satan ended his, dissolving this sin of pride by his unspeakable humility. And to take away the guilt of man's disobedience or infidelity, which were the symptoms or resultances of his intemperate desires, the Son of God did humble himself to death, even to the death of the cross, reposing himself in all his sufferings upon God. The first man was the only favourite which the King of kings had here on earth, the only creature whom he had placed as a prince in Paradise, a seat more than royal or monarchical, with hopes of advancement unto heaven itself. It was a 785
plot as malicious as cunning in Satan to dispossess man of his present dignity, and to throw him down from this height of hope to hellish slavery; to make him a creature more miserable than the earth, water, or other inferior element, harboured any. Yet was his misery, if we sound the very depth of it, not commensurable to the excessive measure of his pride. The ground or bottom of his pride was lower than the lowest part of the earth, as low as nothing; the height of it reached above the highest heavens. Man, who as St. Augustin saith, was but *terræ filius, et nihili nepos;* " the son of the earth, and nephew of nothing ;" man, who if he had looked back to his late beginning, might have said to the silly earthworm, *Thou art my sister,* and to every creeping thing, *Thou art my brother,* became so forgetful of his original, that he sought (by the suggestion of Satan) to become like his Almighty Creator, who out of the same earth had made him so much more excellent than all earthly or sublunary

creatures, as they were than nothing. But let the first man's pride, or Satan's malice in hatching it, and the rest of that sinful brood, receive all the degrees of aggravation which the invention of man can put upon them, yet the medicine prepared by the Son of God will appear more ample than the wound is wide, and more sovereign than it is dangerous. Satan's cunning in working man's fall doth no way equalize the wisdom of the Son of God in dissolving this work. It is not probable, as was observed before, that Satan could so far infatuate the first man as to make him affect to be every way equal with his God, but only to be like or equal unto him in some prerogative; as in the knowledge of good and evil; and probable it is he did desire that his immortality and sovereignty over other creatures might be the one independent, and the other supreme. Now these, and all other branches of pride, whereof we can imagine the human nature by the serpent's suggestion to be capable, are more than countervailed, every way overreached, by the first degree of the humiliation of the Son of God. He was not only like, but equal to the Father, not in some one, or few, but in all the prerogatives of the Divine nature: *He was* (saith the apostle) *in the form of God*, and (*therefore*) *thought it no robbery to be equal with God:* yet he vouchsafed to become, not like to man only, but truly man, more than equal to other men in sorrows and sufferings.

3. Whatsoever equality or similitude with God it was, at which the first man's pride through incogitancy did aim, it was not effected, but affected only, by way of trial. He could not, out of a deliberate choice or settled resolution, assure himself that he should become such as he desired to be. But the Son of God, who was truly God, out of unerrable, unchange-

able, infinite wisdom, determined with himself to become truly man. How man, whilst man, should become more than man, truly God, neither the wit of man nor the subtilty of the serpent could have devised, although (by Divine permission or grant) they had been enabled to accomplish whatsoever to this purpose they could devise or imagine. But the Wisdom and Son of God found out a way by which he might still continue God, and yet become as truly man as he was God: a way by which the diversity of these two natures might still remain unconfused without diversity of persons or parties. Though man's ambition had reached so high as to aspire from that condition of being wherein God had estated him, to be absolutely equal with God, yet his ambition had not been equal to that humiliation which the Son of God 786
did not only affect but attain unto. For although he became a man of the same nature that Adam was of, or any man since hath been, yet was he a man of a lower condition, of as low condition as any earthly creature could be: for as the psalmist in his person complains, psalm xxii. 6, he became *a worm, and no man; the reproach of men,* one whom the very abjects amongst men did think they might safely tread upon with scorn.

4. For the Son of God to be made man, to be made a man of this low estate or condition, (whencesoever he had taken his human substance,) was a satisfaction all-sufficient to the justice of God for man's pride; a dissolution most complete of the first work, that our first parents suffered the devil to work in our nature, if we respect only the substance of it. But that no part of Satan's work, no bond or tie of circumstance wherewith he had entangled our nature, might remain undissolved, the Son of God was made of a woman;

and this was to secure the woman, or weaker sex, that he came to dissolve the works which Satan had wrought in them: for, as the apostle saith, *the first woman was in the transgression, not the man*, the man at least not so deep in the same transgression as the woman. She alone (for aught we read) committed the robbery, in taking the forbidden fruit from off the tree, her husband was the receipter only; and by swallowing it by the serpent's suggestion, she first conceived and brought forth death without her husband's consent or knowledge. Her transgression was twofold—trust or confidence in the serpent's promise, want of credence (through pride) to God's threatenings. To dissolve this work of the devil, so far as it was peculiar to the woman, the Son of God was conceived of a woman without the knowledge or consent of man. Satan used the serpent for his proxy, to betroth himself unto our nature; the Holy Ghost, by the ministry of an angel, wins the blessed Virgin's assent or accord to become the mother of the Son of God. Seeing the first woman became the mother of sin whilst she remained a virgin, though then a wife, the Son of God would have a virgin for his mother, yet a virgin-wife, a virgin affianced to a man. And thus, as the first woman, being not begotten but made of man, did accomplish Satan's plot in working his fall and corrupting our nature, so the Son of God being made man of a woman, doth dissolve this work by purifying what she had corrupted, and by repairing what the first man and woman had undone.

5. There is a tradition concerning the Messias' conception and his mother's, fathered upon an ancient Jewish rabbin by Petrus Galatinus[a], but, as I con-

[a] *Capnio.* Vellem expressius audire, an veteres Hebræorum senserint matrem Messiæ in peccato originali concipiendam non

jecture, rather a commentary upon his own fancy, or some monkish legendary whom he was pleased to

fuisse. *Galatin.* Quamvis ex his quæ diximus satis (ut arbitror) aperte colligatur, hanc priscorum Judæorum fuisse fidem, nedum opinionem. Hoc tamen manifestius ex verbis prædicti *Rabbeni Haccados* habetur: qui eodem in libro גלי רזיא *Gale razeya*, cum ad septimam Antonini consulis urbis Romæ petitionem, inter cætera dixisset. Propter matrem vero ejus scilicet Messiæ, ait David, psal. lxxx. וכנה אשר נטעה ימינך, hoc est, *Et abacum quam plantavit dextra tua.* Dixissetque ei Antoninus, Cur mater Dei comparatur abaco, curve dicit, eam a dextera Dei plantatam? Respondit sic ille: Similis facta est abaco mater Dei. Quandoquidem sicut abacus est armarium, quod principes conficiunt, ad collocanda vascula auri et argenti, ut gloriam suam, atque opes omnibus ostendant. Ita mater Regis Messiæ erit armarium, quod Deus construxit, ut in eo sedeat ipse Messias, ad ostendendam gloriam majestatis suæ cunctis mortalibus. Per id autem quod ait plantatam esse a dextera Dei, ostendit eam primam esse creaturam Dei in genere humano. Sicut dictum est Mich. c. v. ומוצאותיו מקדם מימי עולם id est, *Et egressus ejus ab æternitate, et a diebus seculi.* Dicit enim egressus numero multitudinis. Quia sunt duo Messiæ egressus. Unus Divinitatis, quæ est æterna, ideoque dicit *ab æternitate.* Alter humanitatis, quæ in suæ matris extat substantia, quæ creata est ab hora creationis mundi. Hæc ille, quem Judæi Magistrum nostrum sanctum nuncupant. Ad quorum declarationem notandum est. Quod opinio quorundam veterum Judæorum fuit, matrem Messiæ non solum in mente Dei ab initio et ante secula creatam fuisse, ut paulo superius dictum est. Verum etiam materiam ejus in materia Adæ fuisse productam, ipsamque gloriosam Messiæ matrem principalem extitisse, cum ejus amore (ut dictum est) mundus creatus sit. Nam cum Deus Adam plasmaret, fecit quasi massam, ex cujus parte nobiliori accepit intemeratæ matris Messiæ materiam, ex residuo vero ejus, et superfluitate Adam formavit. Ex materia autem immaculatæ matris Messiæ, facta est virtus quæ in nobiliori loco et membro corporis Adæ conservata fuit. Quæ postea emanavit ad Seth, deinde ad Enos, deinde succedaneo ordine ad reliquos, usque ad sanctum Jehoiakim. Ex hac demum virtute beatissima mater Messiæ formata fuit. Et idcirco eam Zach. cap. iv. suæ prophetiæ את האבן הראשה hoc est, *petram primariam*, recte appellavit. Ex qua, ut antiqui Judæorum exposuerunt, excidendus erat Messias. Neque quidem ab re, cum tempore, gradu, et excellentia primaria foret. Ex qua quidem opinione aperte concluditur, carnem gloriosæ matris Messiæ non fuisse peccato originali infectam, sed purissimam a Divina Providentia præservatam. Quo circa nec anima ejus hujusmodi peccatum in conceptione contractura erat.—Petrus Galatinus, lib. 7. per totum caput tertium.

grace. The abstract of this legend with his comment upon it is thus: "There was one special part of Adam's bodily substance privileged from the contagion of the first sin, and this propagated by one special line unto posterity, until it came to the mother of the Messias, who, from the virtue of this preserved portion of Adam's nature, was conceived without original sin, as being made out of this substance after such a
787 manner as the Messias or Son of God was made of a virgin." *Sit fides pœnes authorem.* We know the blessed Virgin was the daughter of Abraham, and the daughter of David, but not by any portion of Abraham's or David's body altogether exempted from such alterations as the elementary virtues of which all men's bodies are made are subject unto. Nor was the body of the Messias to be made of any such portion of Adam, perpetually exempted from the contagion of sin original, unto the time wherein the blessed Virgin was affianced to Joseph. The first exemption of any portion of the human nature or substance of Adam after his fall, was granted and wrought by the immediate hand of God in the conception of his Son by the Holy Ghost, which was immediately upon that sweet assent of the blessed Virgin unto the angel Gabriel, *Ecce ancilla*, &c.

6. If it were lawful to moralize such fables, (as I take this of Galatinus to be no better,) the best moral I can make of it would be this: However there had been many intermediate generations (as many as St. Luke relateth, if not more) between our father Adam and the conception of the Son of God, yet was our Saviour in some respects the immediate successor of Adam, the only second Adam: his immediate successor, not in sin, but of that purity of nature wherein the first Adam was created; and yet withal immediate

successor unto that curse which Adam by transgression had incurred, but was not able to expiate nor to bear, save only by the everlasting death of himself and his posterity. And for this reason (if I mistake not) the Son of God doth call himself, as no son of Adam before him did, *The Son of man*, by peculiar title. Yet was this a title, as Maldonate[b] well observes, not of honour, but of abjection; of greater abjection than the like title given to Ezekiel, not by himself, but by the angels: and yet Ezekiel is called by the angel, not בֶּן־אִישׁ, but בֶּן־אָדָם: of the difference betwixt these two titles, which are both expressed in our English by *Son of man*, I refer the reader to psalm xlix. 2. and the commentators upon it. As the Son of God was immediate successor unto Adam,

[b] Mihi vera ratio, cur sese ita vocaverit duabus ex rebus petenda esse videtur: altera, quod solus ipse, et Ezechiel (imo Daniel etiam aliquando) ita vocetur, ut Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 18. notavit; altera, quod solus ipse se ita vocet. Nam alii in Novo Testamento nunquam eum *Filium hominis* appellant. Ex priore intelligimus posse eadem, aut simili de causa, qua Ezechielem, *filium hominis* appellari. Cur autem Ezechiel ita vocatus sit, cum multas illi opiniones recensuerimus, illam R. Abraham maxime probavimus, vocari eum *filium hominis*, quia semper cum angelis loquebatur; qui eum, ut a se, qui homines non erant, sed videbantur, distinguerent, *filium hominis* appellabant. Nec enim ipse se, sed eum angeli ita vocant. Simili fortasse ratione Christus, quia Deus erat, et Filius Dei, quasi antithesi quadam cum de se, ut homine loquitur, *Filium hominis* se vocat. Non quod alius, sed quod aliter Filius Dei, quia Deus, et Filius hominis, quia homo esset, quemadmodum Augustinus indicavit. Ex posteriore probabilem conjecturam ducimus, eum se non honoris, sed abjectionis causa ita vocare, sicut se apud prophetam *vermem et opprobrium hominum* appellat, psalm. xxi. 7. Nisi enim abjectionis nomen esset, alii etiam eum aliquando eodem modo vocavissent. Sed observamus Ezechielem nunquam a se, sed ab aliis, Christum nunquam, aut raro ab aliis, sed a se *Filium hominis* appellari. Ideo ergo se *Filium hominis* appellat, ut significet se, *cum in forma Dei esset, nec rapinam arbitraretur se esse æqualem Deo, exinanisse tamen semetipsum, formamque servi accepisse, et habitu inventum, ut hominem.* Phil. ii. 6, 7.—Maldonat. in cap. viii. Matthæi, ver. 20.

so he was the immediate heir unto the blessing promised to Abraham, more than heir, the author and foundation of it: he was likewise immediate successor
788 unto David and his kingdom: the only body in whom the shadow of God's mercies unto David for the good of Israel and Judah was to be fulfilled. If he had been immediate successor unto David only, this might have occasioned some suspicion or distrust, that he had been the Redeemer of the Jewish nation only, or of the sons of Jacob. Had he been immediate successor unto Abraham only, this might have occasioned the like surmise or fancy, that he had been manifested only to dissolve the works which Satan had wrought in Abraham's seed according to the flesh, which was much more ample than the seed of Jacob. But inasmuch as the Son of God did in time become the Son of man, the immediate successor unto Adam, the only second Adam, (though not the first or second man from Adam,) this giveth us to understand that he was the next of kindred to all men, as they were men, whether Jews or Gentiles; he to whom the redemption of all mankind did, by right of kindred, without partiality or respect of persons, equally belong. And for this reason he did not take any created party or person into the unity of his Divine person, but the mere nature of man, or seed of Abraham, as sequestered from all personal respects or references.

7. Thus was the Son of God to be qualified, that his undertakings for mankind might be universally beneficial. But the basis of his humiliation and undertakings in our flesh, that from which (being annexed to the dignity of his person) the intensive infinity of the satisfaction for the sins of the world and our redemption from the servitude of Satan did result, was *the form of a servant,* which he voluntarily took upon

him. A mystery not much looked after, much less into, by any divines whom it hath been my hap to read. The most do scarce make it so much as a comely metaphor or significant expression of somewhat more than the state or condition of man. But that *the form of a servant* was a qualification of the Son of God distinct from his manhood may thus be concludently proved. The nature and essential form of man did arise and doth remain in him since his resurrection from death: so did not the form or condition of a servant; that lies dead and buried for ever, By his resurrection from death, he did not only of a mortal man become immortal, but from the estate or condition of a servant (without the interposition of aught besides his death) was made both Lord and King of all things created by him. It will therefore be no digression to treat of *the form of a servant* more at large in this method and order: first, wherein the essential state or condition of a legal servant doth consist: secondly, of the exact correspondency or identity of form between legal servitude and servitude to sin and Satan: thirdly, of the formal identity betwixt the state and condition of the Son of God, whilst he was in the form of a servant, and the two other forms and conditions of servants, to wit, legal servants and slaves to sin. The only difference betwixt these three sorts of servants is in the matter of their servitude; the form or essential condition is one and the same in all three. Of the state of legal servants, 789
and of our servitude unto sin, I have, after a popular or vulgar way, more copiously discoursed upon several occasions. The brief or extract of so much of these discussions, as to my present memory is pertinent to this instant treatise, must be the subject of the next discourse.

CHAP. VII.

Of legal Servants, and of the Analogy betwixt their civil Estate, and the Estate of wicked Men.

OF legal servants there were two sorts; one whom we call *hired servants* or *apprentices*, whom a Latinist would rather call *famuli* than *servi*: others were *servi*, servants properly so called, such as we would properly term *slaves*, or *bondmen*. Of slaves and bondmen, their lords and masters had a fuller power or dominion than any master hath over his hired servants. Not the actions only, or bodily employment, but the persons of slaves or bondmen are at their masters' disposal; they had the same right of dominion over them which men have over lands which they hold in fee simple, a power to alienate, to sell or set them to any other. And for this reason a slave or bondman is in scripture called *the inheritance of his master*. Of hired servants, the actions or employments only are at their masters' disposal, their persons are free: nor are their actions or employments perpetually at their masters' disposal, but only so long as the covenant lasteth, and so far only as is covenanted between them. The greatest interest that their masters can have in them is only such as a man hath in lands and grounds which he renteth of others; the fruits are entirely his which renteth the grounds, the soil or inheritance is the lord's, or owner of it. The labours or employments of an hired servant are his master's only, his person is in *nullius bonis*, it is not the goods or chattel of another: what he can earn or get is his own; so that he is as much a freeman as a servant. The true and original difference between both these kinds of *servants* and a *freeman* is this: a freeman hath power to dispose of his actions or employments for his best advan-

tage: a servant, (whether by covenant or a bondman,) albeit he hath a reasonable will to desire his own good or preferment, yet hath he no power or right to dispose of his own actions or employments for compassing that good, which, as he is endued with reason, he could project and forecast: for of his employments or expense of time he must give an account unto his master. In respect of legal or civil freedom, that usual definition is warrantable, *Liber est qui vivit ut vult;* He is legally or civilly free which may employ his labours or expend his time as he pleaseth for his own good, without the control or check of others: and he is a legal servant *qui non vivit ut vult*, which cannot bestow himself or time according to his own desire or will, but as his lord or master shall appoint. His master by legal right may impose a necessity upon him, either of not doing that which he desireth to do, or of doing that which he desireth not to do. A servant may desire to pleasure himself or his friend by his day labour, or other expense of time; but if this he do without his master's consent or approbation, he wrongs his master, who, if he please, may constrain him to do his business, and neglect his own or his friend's. Again, 790
a servant may have a desire or resolution not to gratify or pleasure another (suppose his own or his friend's enemy) by his service or employments; and yet if he be his master's friend, he may compel him to do that party whom he mislikes that good office or service which he would not. Briefly, every servant hath a freedom of will in matters civil, but no *arbitrium*, no freedom of power, or right to dispose of himself or of his actions for accomplishing that which he may freely will: he must frame his course of politic or civil life *ex arbitrio domini.*

2. From this difference of estate or condition of a

freeman and a servant, the heathens did by light of nature rightly infer, that every vicious man (though a lord, though a prince or monarch) was a true slave to his own lust or lewd desires; that every wise and temperate man, though a bondman for his legal state and condition, was a true freeman. The Roman orator in his paradoxes (as he entitles them) to this purpose was an orthodox. And the arguments which the slave in the satirical poet brings to prove his master to be a greater slave than himself are unanswerable: *Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque Tot tantisque minor?* "Are you a lord and I a slave, whenas you may be commanded by more men and by more desires than I am subject unto?" The slave acknowledged no more masters than this one, whom if it would please but to say the word, his freedom might without difficulty be obtained: if the prætor of the city would but vouchsafe (by his master's leave) to lay his white rod upon him, and cause him to be turned once or twice about, with some few other ceremonies, he could be turned out of a slave into a free citizen in the space of an hour; whereas if his master had been turned round (till his senses had failed him), in case the prætor would have laid his rod an hundred times upon his head, he could not have wound himself out of those bonds of servitude wherein his lusts had ensnared him. This slave had observed that his master would often commend the frugality and temperance of the ancient Romans, and often desire that he and other modern Romans might live as they did; yet if any great man or good neighbour would invite him to a luxurious feast, or if any foolish pleasures, with whose excess he had been formerly stung, should proffer themselves, he had not so much power to resist or restrain them as this slave had to neglect his

designs or commands when they did displease him. And for his master to be drawn thus every day to do that which in his retired and sober thoughts he did most dislike and condemn, was in his judgment a greater slavery than any bodily servitude. If the reasons which these and other heathens often used to prove vicious men to be the only true slaves, had not been the dictates of the law of nature written in our hearts, or reasons unanswerable, the apostles of Christ, yea Christ himself, would not have used the like. *Know ye not,* saith St. Paul, Rom. vi. 16, as if it were a shame in this point to be ignorant, *that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?* And St. Peter tells us of some, *who whilst they promise liberty unto others, they themselves were servants unto corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought into bondage.* 2 Peter ii. 19. So our Saviour saith, John viii. 34, *Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.* And of him no doubt our apostle St. John learned that doctrine, *He that committeth sin is of the devil,* a servant of his.

3. But albeit the wiser sort of heathens did by light 791
of nature know that every vicious man was a slave or servant to his own lusts or desires, yet the greatest danger which they apprehended from the servitude was but fear of satirical censure for preposterous baseness in subjecting reason to sensuality. That their own desires, lusts, or affections, were maintained and cherished by a foreign enemy, as so many rebels to wage war against their immortal souls, or that their consciences being subdued by lust should be everlastingly subject to so cruel a tyrant as the devil is, were points wherein the prince of darkness had blinded

the eyes of the wisest heathen. And would to God we Christians, to whom the Lord hath revealed thus much, could see or hear so much concerning this doctrine, as would make us perfectly understand or lay to heart the inestimable danger wherein we stand, whether in respect of the fast hold which this tyrant by our corrupted nature and custom hath got of us, or of the miserable usage which will follow, if he and sin finally prevail against us. But this is a common place, for which every man may find a fitter text in his own heart, than any other man can choose for him, and matter of more ample and pertinent discourse upon it, than reading of many books can suggest unto him. All that I have here to say concerning this point is, to request the reader to examine his own heart, and calculate his non-performances of what (I presume) he often seriously intended, and perhaps hath vowed. His duty it is to open the wounds of his conscience, either to God alone in secret, or to such as God hath appointed for the physicians of his soul and conscience. My purpose is to prepare the plaster or medicine, and to inform him how to apply it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Son of God was properly a Servant to his Father, yet not by Birth as he was the Son of his Handmaid, but by voluntary undergoing this hard Condition for the Redemption of Man.

1. To free us from this miserable servitude unto sin (which alone doth wound our conscience) the Son of God did freely and voluntarily take upon him *the form of a servant.* The parts of his peculiar service were in general two; the one, to conquer Satan, who was by right of conquest our Lord; the other, to reconcile us to grace and favour with God; to make

us first servants, then sons, and lastly kings and priests to his and our heavenly Father. These two parts of his peculiar service unto his Father (for unto him alone he was a servant) exhibit the most admirable pattern of justice, mercy, and lovingkindness, as well in God the Father as God the Son, that the wit of man or angels can contemplate. First, it was a pattern of justice never after to be paralleled, for God the Father to exact satisfaction for our sins at the hands of his dear and only Son. Unto this unmeasurable act or exercise of justice upon the Son of righteousness, his mercy towards us miserable sinners was fully commensurable. For whatsoever he suffered for our sakes was from his Father's and his own mercy and loving- 794
kindness towards us. Again, so infinite was the justice of our gracious God, that even whilst he shewed his mercy and lovingkindness towards us, he did vouchsafe to give (as we say) the devil himself his due, and to observe the law of arms or duel with this prince of rebels, his subject by right of creation, but professed enemy by resolution. Albeit this grand rebel, after his revolt from God, had conquered man, and made him, by treachery, of God's servant and son a mere slave unto himself, the righteous Lord would not deprive this mighty lion and greedy wolf of his prey by any other means than by right of conquest gotten over him by man. He did not arm a legion of angels, nor summon the whole host of visible creatures against him, nor use his omnipotent and absolute power to destroy or annihilate him, or as then to shut him up in the everlasting prison. The exercises of such power, whether immediately by the omnipotent Creator himself, or by his creatures, had been more than Satan's matches upon equal terms or weapons. Exercise of strength was not the fittest way in the wisdom of God

to conquer pride, ambition, or vainglory, though these must be quelled with the power and strength of the Son of God, whom it pleased the Father at the first onset to weaken, by laying our first parents' infirmities and their posterities' upon him. These were the weapons by which he foiled the old serpent, and obtained the victory by managing our weakness and infirmities better than our first parents did those great abilities wherewith their Creator had endowed them to resist temptations. The weapons which the old serpent used in the conquest of our first parents, and by which he retained their posterity in continual slavery, were their own desires and affections; these he improved so far that they became unwieldy. And he, having gotten (as we say) the better end of the staff, did wrest our wills at his pleasure to do those things which God forbids us to do, and make us furious executioners of his cunning contrivances against our own souls. The particularities of his sleights or cunning for bringing us into thraldom inextricable (unless the Son of God set us free) are elsewhere deciphered. These two are the main generals: first, the extension of our natural desire of things within their bounds good and pleasant; secondly, the improvement of our fear of things distasteful to nature, as of death, disgrace, or torture. Now that the Son of God might thus beat him at his own weapons, it was necessary that he should first take upon him *the form* or essential condition *of a servant:* for without this first voluntarily undertaken by him, the rule of justice could not possibly have suffered him to have suffered so much as he did for our redemption. Wherein then did the state or condition of a servant which he took upon him formally consist? or when did he first become a servant? from the first moment of his birth or conception?

2. I cannot brook their opinion who think our Saviour was by birth a legal servant, as being *filius ancillæ*, "the son of a handmaid or bondwoman." This gross heresy hath been well refuted by some late schoolmen, whose names I now remember not, nor the names of the authors or abettors of this opinion. The mother of the Son of God was indeed *ancilla*, "a handmaid," but to him only "whose service is perfect freedom." So the psalmist, in the person of the Son of God, (to be manifested in our flesh,) or as his type, directs his prayer, psalm cxvi. 16: *O Lord, truly I am* 795
thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid. CHRIST (as all Christians grant) was the Son of God's handmaid after such a manner and in such a sense as never any man besides him was; for he was the promised woman's seed, and the son of a woman in such a sort as he was not the son of any man. Again, he was the servant of God after such a peculiar manner as neither man or woman had been or ever shall be. But how doth this peculiar service of his fit our servitude unto sin? Even as the medicine doth the disease, or as the plaster doth the wound for which it is prepared. In the Son of God made man there were two distinct wills; the one truly divine, the other truly human. To deny this distinction of wills in Christ were to revive the heresy of the *Monothelites*, so called because they held but one will in Christ, to wit, the divine. An error into which they haply fell (as many since their time have done into a worse) by not distinguishing between *voluntas* and *arbitrium*. Our Saviour Christ, whilst he lived here on earth, had a reasonable will of the same nature or quality our will is of, sin excepted. And by this will he could not but desire his own particular good, as health, welfare, and other lawful contentments of the human nature which are

requisite to true joy or happiness. But inasmuch as the Son of God from the beginning of man's servitude unto Satan became our surety, and to make satisfaction for our sins did in the fulness of time take our nature upon him, he did wholly submit his reasonable will, all his affections and desires, unto the will of his heavenly Father. And in this renouncing of the arbitrement of his will, and in the entire submission of it unto the will of his Father, did that *form of a servant*, whereof our apostle speaks, formally consist. For unto the essential definition or constitution of a servant these two only concur: first, the use of reason, (for fools, infants, or reasonless creatures cannot be servants;) secondly, *carentia arbitrii proprii*, want of right or arbitrary power to dispose of their bodily actions or employments according to the desire or lawful choice of their reasonable will. So then the general definition or abstract form of a servant is univocally the same, 1. in legal servants; 2. in servants to sin; and 3. in the Son of God during the time of his humiliation here on earth, or whilst he became hostage for our redemption: but the service of these three sorts of servants is in the concrete most different. And the difference ariseth from the matter or subject in which they are respectively deprived of proper right or arbitrary power to dispose of themselves or of their actions. A legal servant wants power to dispose of his employments or bodily actions in matters temporary concerning this life. Servants to sin (such all the sons of Adam are by nature) want power to dispose of their actions or course of life in matters moral, spiritual, or such as concern their consciences. All and every one of us have a desire to be happy; and yet all of us, until we be freed by the Son of God from this natural servitude, are by the prince of darkness usually di-

verted from this straight way which leads to happiness, unto the crooked by-paths which tend to death and inextricable misery. The Son of God, although according to his human nature he had a reasonable will and desire of happiness, which could never in any particular become exorbitant, or diverted from that which is most holy and just, yet even he in the days of his humiliation wanted power to reap the wages of righteousness or fruits of holiness. Though joy and 796
comfort was as pleasant to him as to any man besides, though complete happiness was due unto him, as he was a most just and righteous man, personally united to the Son of God, yet having taken upon him *the form of a servant*, he did with unspeakable patience and obedience bear all the griefs and sorrows which Satan and his instruments, by Divine permission, could invent against him, and cheerfully undergo the heaviest burden which his heavenly Father was pleased to lay upon him for our redemption.

3. From this peculiar condition of a servant, which the Son of God did voluntarily take upon him, that main objection which some modern Arians or Photinians make against the absolute satisfaction of our Lord Redeemer for our sins may easily be answered, or rather will dissolve itself. God (say these men) could not without tyrannical injustice require full satisfaction for the misdemeanours of all wicked and naughty men from one most just and holy man: *To slay the righteous with the wicked, that be far from thee, O Lord*, was the saying of Abraham to God, Genesis xviii. 25. But further surely it is, and always hath been, from the Judge of all the world, (who is the eternal living rule of justice itself,) to put the innocent and righteous to the lingering and cruel tortures of an ignominious death, for redeeming wicked and cruel

men from deserved death, or to purchase, not the impunity only, but the advancement of wilful rebels, by the severe punishment of his dear and only obedient Son. This objection (as was in the former treatise[c] intimated) would pierce deep, if we were disarmed of those Christian principles which these modern heretics have cast aside, to wit, the plurality of persons in the Trinity, and the oneness of person in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, God and man, even whilst he was invested with *the form of a servant.* We believe, and confess as they do, there is but one God, and yet in this God we acknowledge as they do not, *unum et alium,* one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost, such a distinction of capacities, that the Father, not the Son, exacts satisfaction for man's violation of the eternal and indispensable rule of equity and justice; that God the Son, not God the Father, did become man's surety, and undertake to make full satisfaction for all his sins.

4. Now he that will make satisfaction to another must have somewhat to give of his own, so his own as it is not the other's to whom it is given. What then had the Son of God to give by way of satisfaction unto God the Father, or to the Holy Ghost, which was so his own as it was not theirs? Only that part of our nature which he took from the substance of his mother into the unity of his divine person. In all other parts of our nature, over all other parts of this universe, God the Father and God the Holy Ghost had the same interest or right of dominion with the Son. Now this part of our nature being thus assumed into the unity of the second Person, the Son of God and the Son of the blessed Virgin do not differ as party and party.

[c] The seventh Book of Commentaries upon the Creed, chap. 25. sect. 3, 4, &c. p. 217. of this volume.

There is *unum et aliud*, one *nature* of the Godhead, another of the *manhood*, not *unus et alius*, not one person of the Godhead, another of the manhood. The divine nature in the person of the Son is the only party which undertook our redemption; the human nature assumed into the unity of his person was but his qualification, an appendance or appurtenance, no true part of his person. And (as heretofore hath been observed[d]) albeit the flesh of the man Christ Jesus was 797
caro humana, non divina, flesh of the same nature and substance with our flesh, yet were his flesh and blood more truly the flesh and blood of the Son of God than of the man Christ Jesus: the human body more truly and properly his own, than our bodies are ours. Now our flesh and bodily parts are said to be our own, not so much because they are parts of our nature, as because they are appurtenances of our persons, or because we have a peculiar personal right or power so to dispose of them as to make them no parts of our nature. We account it no unnatural part in wise men to cut off any rotten or putrefied member, rather than suffer the whole body besides utterly to perish. In some certain cases, public societies, or communities of men, (none of which have the like peculiar authority over the meanest free private member, as every owner of a body natural hath over his teeth, his toes, his fingers, or other less principal part necessary for some uses only, not for the preservation of the whole,) have by public consent designed sometimes some principal members of the community, sometimes members less principal, not condemned of any crime, as sacrifices for redeeming others from present danger, or for securing posterity from servitude or oppression.

[d] The seventh Book of Commentaries upon the Creed, chap. 30, sect. 10, &c. p. 291. of this volume.

And when outrages have been committed by great armies, the authors or principal incentives of the mutiny being unknown, or not convicted by legal proof, the expiation hath usually been made by decimation: every tenth man hath by wholesome discipline of war been punished according to the demerits of the crime committed. But albeit every tenth man since Adam had been by him and his successors' consent devoted to death, or lingering torture, far worse than death, their execution could have made no expiation, no satisfaction unto God for the transgressions of the whole community. The attempt of the medicine would have increased the malignity of the universal disease. Yea, albeit the Son of God could have been by man intreated to practise this cure which is used by private wise men for preservation of their natural bodies, or by great commanders for preventing mutinies or loss of armies; all this had not been sufficient to have redeemed the world or the whole community of men from utter ruin and destruction, or (which is worse than both) from everlasting servitude unto Satan. Men by art, or rather artists by the guidance of God's providence, have found out remedies against venomous diseases, by medicinal confections of venomous ingredients. The poisonous bitings of the scorpion are usually cured by the oil of scorpions; and of the flesh of some serpents physicians make sovereign antidotes for preventing poison, or for curing venomous diseases. But the venom which the old serpent had diffused, not through the veins only, but through the whole nature of man, was not curable by this course of physic. The old serpent was to be destroyed, but not to become any ingredient in this catholic medicine whereby the human nature was to be cured: that, by the wisdom of God, was taken out of the

nature and substance wounded, not from the substance which did wound or sting. But this part of the nature wounded which was to be the medicine for the rest was first to be perfectly cured, and throughly purified by personal unition to the Son of God. And being thus purified and cleansed from all spot of sin, it was disfigured and mangled, that the blood of it might be as a balsamum and quintessence to heal the wounds and sores of our corruption. If it were the will and 798
pleasure of the Son of God to submit his most holy body unto the good will and pleasure of his most holy Father; if with his consent and approbation it were bruised and mangled; here was no wrong done to any man, but on God's part rather a document of his unspeakable love unto mankind: love unexpressible on God the Father's part, that would suffer his only Son to take upon him the true form of a servant, and undergo such hard service for us: love unexpressible on God the Son's behalf, that did so willingly expose his human body to pain and torture for our redemption. Here was no wrong at all, either to the Son of God from God the Father, or to the human nature of Christ from the Godhead, or Divine Person of the Son; rather, all indignities and harms, which were done unto the man Christ Jesus by Satan and his instruments, did redound unto the Son of God. The human nature was the only subject of the wound and pain. The Son of God was the only subject (if we may so speak) of the wrong, the only party or person wronged by Satan and his instruments; but no way wronged by the Father, much less by himself, as having free power to put that part of our nature which he assumed unto what service soever his Father would require. Concerning this last qualification of the Son of God, I have nothing more to say in this treatise, save only

how it was foretold or foreshadowed. The predictions that the Son of God, or the Messias, should become a servant, are frequent in the Old Testament, and will here and there interpose themselves in some ensuing discussions of his undertakings for dissolving the works of Satan. The next inquiry is, how it was foreshadowed, or typically foretold.

CHAP. IX.

God's Servant Job the most illustrious Type of the Son of God as he was invested with the Form of a Servant.

1. THE form of a servant, which the Son of God did take upon him, was foreshadowed by all those holy men (prophets or other) which are by sacred writers instyled *the servants of God:* a title not usually given to many kings or priests, not once (I take it) by God himself unto Abraham, though he were the greatest of holy men which were but men, the father of the faithful, whether kings, priests, or prophets: the only prophet, priest, or other, which (to my remembrance) was instyled *the friend of God.* Moses, Aaron, and David are sometimes instyled *the servants of God* by God himself. Yet were these three (respectively) more illustrious types of the Son of God as he was to be made King, Priest, and Prophet, than of him as he took the form of a servant upon him. Of Christ Jesus, as he was in a peculiar sort the servant of God, Job, the most remarkable pattern of patience, (before this Son of God was manifested in the flesh,) is the most exact type or shadow, not for his qualifications only, but in his undertakings. Job's conflicts with Satan, and wrestlings with temptations, are more expressly recorded, and more emphatically expressed, than any man's besides, before the only Son of God became the Son of man, and servant to his heavenly

Father. Satan, by special leave obtained from God, (but so obtained by God as challenger,) did combat or play his prizes with this servant of God, at two the most prevalent weapons which his cunning and long experience upon all advantages which the weakness of men (from the fall of Adam) did afford him could make choice of. And these two weapons were, hope of good things and fear of evils temporal, which this great usurper did presume were at his disposal, either by right of that conquest which he had gotten over the first man, or could obtain by God's permission to ensnare the first man's posterity. The direct and full scope of all our hopes is felicity; and so is misery the period of all our fears. Unto felicity three sorts of good things are required; *bona animæ—bona fortunæ—bona corporis:* the endowments and contentments of the reasonable soul; health with ability, and lawful contentments of the body; competency of means or worldly substance; which are subservient to both the former endowments and contentments of soul and body. No misery can befall man but either from the want of some one or more of these three good things which are required to happiness, (as the philosophers conceived it,) or from their contraries. All the evils which men naturally fear are either evils incident to the body, as sickness, pain, torments, death, want or loss of goods or worldly substance; loss of good name, disgrace or ignominy; imputation of folly; which are no less grievous to the rational part of man than pain or grief are to the part sensitive; more grievous by much to ingenuous men than loss of goods, than want or penury. For as an heathen satirist well observed— 799

> Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
> Quam quod ridiculos homines facit—

the shrewdest turn that poverty can do any mortal creature is to expose him unto contempt or scorn. By fear of all these three evils Satan driveth most men into his snare of servitude, as many, if not more, as he draws into the same snare by hope of good things. By every one of these three evils, by the very least of them, if we take them single, he had caught so many as he thought sufficient to make up this general induction—That none could escape his snares or springs, so he might be permitted by God to take his opportunities for setting them.

2. Job was a man as happy as any man before him had been, according to that scale of happiness which philosophers could hope for in this life, or could make any probable ground of better hopes for the life to come. *There was a man* (saith the text) *in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil.* This is a fuller expression than any philosopher could make of the principal part of happiness, that is, of a mind richly endowed with all kind of virtues moral, and more than so, with spiritual graces. *And there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters;* these were more than *bona corporis*, more than parts of his personal constitution, which besides these was exceeding good. *His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she asses, and a very great houshold,* (or *husbandry;* great store, no doubt, of servants, which were part of his worldly substance;) *so that this man was the greatest of all the men of the east.* Here was a great measure of those
800 things which philosophers call *bona fortunæ*, "goods of fortune," (or, as we now say) goodly means, fair

revenues. Job was a richer man for those times, in respect of others, than any man this day living is in respect of our times. Yet this goodly cedar, in his full height, was sound within and straight without, unshaken by any blasts of former temptations, until the Lord himself appointed him to be a dueller with Satan. The challenge made by Satan is very remarkable: *There was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them. And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?* vv. 6, 7, 8. Satan would not believe the Lord's commendations of this righteous man: for he *answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast not thou made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.* vv. 9, 10, 11. After the Lord had permitted Satan to try the utmost of his skill at this first weapon, loss of goods and loss of children, Job by his antagonist's confession came off with honour: he still continued God's faithful servant: *He arose* (saith the text) upon the heavy news of his universal loss of goods and children, *and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped, and said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken*

away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job did not sin. vv. 20—22. Yet is not Satan his antagonist daunted with this boggle, but craves leave to try his skill at another weapon; for so it follows: *Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them to present himself before the Lord,* &c. *And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil? and still he holdeth fast his integrity, although thou movedst me against him, to destroy him without a cause. And Satan answered the Lord, and said, Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face. And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold, he is in thine hand; only save his life.* chap. ii. 1, 3—6. Having this license granted him, he foreslows no time for putting it in speedy execution: *So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown. And he took him a potsherd to scrape himself withal; and he sat down among the ashes.* vv. 7, 8.

3. In the first temptation, (which was loss of goods,) Job did not sin so much as in word: so far he was from sinning in word, so far from murmuring at this sudden change, that he setteth a copy, not of patience only, but of thanksgiving for temporal crosses or calamities. In the second temptation, which was more terrible, he so far a while resisted as if he had purposed to make an atonement for Adam's sin in rashly yielding to his wife's suggestion: for when Job's wife
801 did seek to mispersuade him, *Dost thou still retain*

thine integrity? curse God, and die: he thus replied: *Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* vv. 9, 10. Yet that Job in the continuance of this second temptation did not sin, is more than the word of God will warrant us to avouch. Certainly he was a sinner, and did actually sin in this temptation, though not in so high a degree as his miserable comforters supposed him to have sinned long before this misery did befall him. They thought the excess of his afflictions, in respect of the ordinary afflictions which other men did suffer, did presuppose an excess of sin in him, and that his present sufferings did convince him of former hypocrisy, which is the worst of sins. Yet some ground they had of this persuasion or suspicion; for few or none within their memory, or before their times, had fallen into such a depth of misery as Job now had done, without some excessive height of sin in some one kind or other. Yet Job's friends, in the extent of their collections, did, if not grossly sin, yet foully err in their particular application. For Job's case was extraordinary; his temptations were without all former example. In respect or order of time, he was the first and most remarkable pattern of patience which the scripture hath proposed unto us. No righteous man, or true servant of God before him, had been so afflicted, either in body, in loss of goods, or esteem with men, with friends especially, as this most upright and faithful servant of God was. The titles given him by God himself of perfectness and uprightness extraordinary, if we compare them with his extraordinary temptations and grievances, do argue that he was the servant of God after a more peculiar manner than others had been; a remarkable servant, not only in

respect of his sanctity and integrity, but as a special type and figure of the Son of God, who was in succeeding ages to take the form of a servant upon him, and in this form to be exposed to more terrible combats with Satan than Job had been, although as man he were more upright and righteous than Job. And besides such saints of God, as were peculiar types of the Son of God, or of the man Christ Jesus, in the days of his affliction, that induction made by Eliphaz, Job iv. 7, 8, 9, was universally true in respect of those times, and these ensuing: *Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent? or where were the righteous cut off? Even as I have seen, they that plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same. By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed.* That of the psalmist (whether David or some other) was universally true, not of his times only, but of aftertimes also, though true of latter times with the former allowance or exception of such as were special types of Christ in his affliction: *I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.* Psalm xxxvii. 25.

802 CHAP. X.

How the Son of God did conquer Satan at those Weapons wherewith he had conquered our first Parents.

1. THAT the Son of God was manifested to dissolve the works of the devil, our evangelist St. John hath taught us; and St. John Baptist had told him and others as much before: *I knew him not* (saith this his forerunner): *but that he should be manifested unto Israel, therefore I come baptizing with water. And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it rested upon him,*

John i. 31, 32. But did this manifestation declare or manifest his purpose to dissolve or destroy the works of the devil? Yes. Immediately upon his baptism he gave Israel and the world just proof that the end of his manifestation was to take away the sins of mankind, and for this reason he began to untwist that triple cord wherewith our first parents, and in them their whole posterity, were bound by Satan. For albeit the first sin found entrance into our nature by incogitancy, and had its period or accomplishment in pride, yet were not pride or incogitancy the only strings of that snare wherein Satan had taken us. The bonds and ties by which he took and holds us captive are mentioned by St. John in his first epistle, chap. ii. 15, 16: *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.* From these three heads or sources all the overflowing of ungodliness may be derived, and these found entrance into this visible world through our first parents' folly and Satan's subtilty. For albeit *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life,* took their distinct specifical being or live-shape from the first sin, yet were the seeds of all these sins sown by Satan in our first parents' souls and senses, before the body of sin with its members were framed or animated. "There was an extravagant desire of the eye, an irregular appetite of the flesh, by which the serpent tolled on the first woman to eat the forbidden fruit; and the eating of it did hatch this threefold brood in kind:" *The woman,* saith Moses, Gen. iii. 6, *saw* (through false spectacles of Satan's making) *that the tree was good for food,* (here was the embryon or

seed of the lust of the flesh,) *and that it was pleasant to the eyes*, (here were the first lineaments of the lust of the eye,) *and a tree to be desired to make one wise*, (this was the inchoation of the pride of life,) and *she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also to her husband, and he did eat;* and by their eating, the former *desire* of forbidden food was turned into *the lust of the flesh;* the *curiosity* of the eye was turned into *the lust of the eye;* and the *desire* of knowledge or proper excellency was changed into *the pride of life*. So that the truth of St. James's observation, chap. i. 13—15, was remarkably experienced in the manner of our first parents' fall: *Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man: but every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is*
803 *finished, bringeth forth death.* Now to dissolve these three temptations, or cords of vanity, wherewith our first parents were taken captives, the Son of God immediately upon his baptism was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted.

2. Our first parents being placed in Paradise, (a place furnished with variety and plenty of food,) by too much indulgence unto their appetite, or by incogitancy to bridle it by reason, could not abstain from that fruit which only was forbidden them. Power they had to have abstained, but they did not use it, when they had no necessity, no urgent provocation to eat at all, much less to eat of that fruit. The Son of God, made a man more subject to bodily harms by long forbearance of meat than our first parents were, after forty days' continuance in a vast and barren wilderness, wherein no food or fruit did grow, could not in his

hunger be tempted to eat any food which the ordinary providence of God did not reach unto him. *Ingens telum necessitas;* 'Necessity,' as we say, 'hath no law;' there is no fence against it: *cogit ad turpia,* it makes men, otherwise honest, to do many things which are not comely. And for this reason the great tempter at the first bout assaults our Saviour with this *fiery dart* of *necessity*: *If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.* As if he had said, 'Long fasting hath made it apparent that thou art a man subject to weakness and infirmity, and (if thou be withal the Son of God) thou canst, and a necessity is laid upon thee, as man, to provide thyself of food; for without food man cannot live.' Yet this *fiery dart* (though steeled and pointed with the tempting delight of manifesting his own worth or excellency) is wholly diverted by that *shield of faith: It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* So Moses had said unto Israel, *I fed thee with manna, to teach thee that man liveth not by bread, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God doth man live*[b]. Israel then did live for a long time both by manna and by the word of God, on which, without manna, they would not have relied. Manna was as the body, and the word of God spoken by Moses as the soul or spirit of that food by which they lived: both manna and that word of God make but an emblem or type of the eternal Word of God, who is the food of life, life itself; and yet at this time (as man) was an hungered. So then, as he was the Son of God, he was able of stones to make bread, and as he was a man subject to infirmities he had just occasion at this time to use his power. Yet as man, invested with *the form of a*

[b] Deut. viii. 3.

servant, he could not be induced to use this power: for, as he often professeth, he came not to do his own will, no not in things lawful and most agreeable to nature, but the will of him that sent him, though that did enjoin him to do or suffer things most displeasant to nature. This was the time wherein he was by his Father appointed to conquer the irregular appetite of the sense of taste and the lust of the flesh.

3. Our first parents being God's vicegerents here on earth, lords of all his visible creatures, not therewith content, by Satan's enticements aspired to be like unto God, higher than angels, than other powers or principalities. The Son of God, albeit he were by nature Lord of men and Lord of angels, cannot be allured to exercise his command over them, albeit they were commanded to attend him. Satan's pretence in his second assault was very fair, and seemed to be countenanced by scripture:
804 *If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone*[c]. Fitter occasion, to any man's seeming, could not be offered for the exquisite verification, or exact fulfilling of this prophecy, than by this adventure to throw himself down from the pinnacle of the temple. But the Son of God, who gave the law, being now made under the law, submits himself unto that legal precept, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God:* and with this scripture retorts Satan's attempted blow upon himself. But what temptation of God had it been in the Son of God, to have thrown himself down from the pinnacle of the temple, to have given proof that he had been that just man over whom God had given his angels charge? Some there be who reply, that Satan

[c] Psalm xci. 11, 12.

did allege this scripture impertinently, imperfectly: for the psalmist saith, ***He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.*** Now the ways of men are not in the air, but upon the earth. This interpretation I neither much mislike, nor altogether approve, because our Saviour doth not tax Satan for his impertinent or imperfect allegation of the former scripture. Nor do I see any reason why flying in the air might not be one of the ways of the Son of God made man, as well as walking upon the sea in a tempest, if so it had pleased him or his heavenly Father, by whose appointment or disposing he did do or suffer all things. Now it was his Father's will, that by his walking on the water he should manifest himself to be the Son of God, able to command either wind or water. It was likewise his Father's will that at this time as man he should conquer the pride of life, or that deeply implanted desire in all men of proper excellency, or advancing themselves before due time. By this free resignation of his authority over the angels, he makes satisfaction for our first parents' pride in seeking to advance themselves above the angels.

4. Again, Paradise did afford our first parents as full satisfaction for the delight of the eye as it did for food, and yet desire of that food which they needed not found entrance into their hearts or fancies by their eyes. But the Son of God being made the Son of man, having neither place to lay his head, nor any prospect for the present to please his eye, had all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory represented unto him, with proffer of their sale, or donation rather, only upon condition that he would do that homage unto this great prince of the world, which m princes do to kings or emperors, or emperors t selves had done to popes or prelates. The preten

fair, and the temptation the strongest of all the three: for what man, who is but mere man, would not adventure upon any practice for the gaining the kingdom or monarchy which their ancestors had foolishly lost. Now Adam was lord and monarch of this visible world, until he suffered himself to be conquered by Satan, who did remain *de facto*, if not by right of conquest, the prince of it and lord of men, until the Son of God made man did throw him out of possession. But that hour of his was not yet come: so far was he from affecting the kingdoms of this world, that he was yet acting the part of a servant in it, but a servant to his Father only, not to men or princes in this world. Of how mean a condition soever he were as man, yet he disdained to worship men or angels, though but with civil worship, for any preferment; and therefore dismisses this great usurper thus, with
805 indignation, *Avoid, Satan.* Satan, it seems, had a prenotion or suspicion that Christ was that just and holy man whom the psalmist describes, psalm xci; or such a son of God as they were which appeared before the Lord when he was permitted to tempt Job. That he was the only Son of God, or equal with God, was more than he then knew.

5. These three temptations wherein our Saviour foiled Satan are paralleled to the first temptation of Job, which was loss of worldly substance; more generally, all the evils which the Son of God did suffer in our flesh, or whilst he was conversant with men in the form of a servant, did bear analogy to the evils which Job did suffer, but for particulars more in number and more grievous: there was no evil that comes *ab extra* which he suffered not in greater measure than Job did any. As for loss of goods or worldly substance, Job made no reckoning: the Son of God, though heir of

all things, did not vouchsafe so much as to grace these by being owner or possessor of them: he renounced the world, and all things in the world, before he came into it: he would not be entangled or meddle with them, that he might please him who had chosen him to be his soldier, his only champion in this great conflict with the prince of darkness. But to parallel Job's other temptations with our Saviour's.

CHAP. XI.

A Parallel between Job's second Temptation and the Son of God's Sufferings in our Flesh before the Hour of his Agony or his Cross.

1. JOB was smitten with sores from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet; his disease was more than natural, at least incurable, for he was thus smitten by Satan. But was the Son of God thus smitten? *Durum est affirmare.* Satan had no power thus immediately to smite him: for bodily diseases we do not read of any that did take possession of his sacred body; we read that he cured all manner of diseases, but never stood in need of the physician's help for himself. No disease did breed in his body, being free from sin; and being anointed to cure all, he did not, he could not, take any by contagion. But though he cured all manner of diseases, or all the diseased which were brought unto him, yet we do not read that he cured all in Judæa which were diseased: for so none should have died in that land during the time of his three years' pilgrimage through it, from his baptism to his death. Albeit he cured many of diseases natural, yet not all that were naturally diseased, though weak or sick unto death. For he was n manifested to dissolve or destroy the works of natu albeit he gave proof by many experiments that he

able to destroy or divert the whole course of nature. But we read, *That* JESUS *of* NAZARETH, *being anointed with the Holy Ghost, went about from his baptism to his death, doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil*, Acts x. 38. And many were so oppressed which were not possessed. Many diseases, which to us would have seemed natural or casually bred, were as immediately procured by Satan as Job's plagues were; and in these bonds of bodily
806 affliction Satan had held them longer than he held Job. Such was that woman's disease, whose cure being wrought by the Physician of our souls upon the sabbath day, the ruler of the synagogue did malign as an ungodly work: but the Son of God's reply doth justify as well the truth of our assertion as the lawfulness of his practice: *Hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath day loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to the water? and ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?* Luke xiii. 15, 16. This bodily disease was a work of Satan, which the Son of God came to dissolve. Satan had thus bound her, to the end that he might by these bonds draw her to some unlawful practice for her ease; as, to ask counsel of some cunning woman, or to adventure upon the pretended mysteries of some unhallowed art. Of diseases merely natural, the cunning tempter makes use or way by them for his temptations; though he have no finger in the inflicting of them yet he moveth such as are grievously afflicted with them to repine or murmur against God; and all such repining or impatiency in sickness, though occasioned by sickness merely natural, is a work of Satan, which the Son of God came to dissolve or prevent. But how did he dissolve or prevent them by taking

them upon him? Though Satan could lay these and the like bonds of bodily afflictions upon this woman, and upon many others both men and women in Judæa in these times, could he therefore lay the like upon the body of the Son of God? It is certain he could not. How then did the Son of God in bodily maladies or grievances either parallel Job whom Satan had smitten, or those miserable creatures whom he loosed from Satan's bonds? He did not parallel them at all in the matter of the disease or bodily grievance; that could not breed in his body, it could not be produced in it by Satan: yet did he parallel Job, and all the parties whom he cured, though smitten or bound by Satan, in the grief or pain of the disease whose matter could not fasten upon him. He which commands us by his apostle *to weep with them that weep*, did out of all question exhibit a more real pattern of this precept than the apostle could practise. Yet saith the apostle of himself, and he said it without hypocrisy, without boasting, *Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* Such was his care of all the churches, that every man's grief was in some measure the apostle's grief, every man's infirmity did in some portion weaken him: yet was it not foretold of this apostle by any prophet, *that he should bear our griefs, or take our infirmities upon him.* This was the peculiar character of the Son of God manifested in the flesh, expressly foretold by the prophet Isaiah, ch. liii. 4, and the accomplishment of it related by St. Matthew, chap. viii. 16, 17. The manner of his curing others of their sicknesses and infirmities was by taking them upon himself, not in kind, but by sympathy. As the eye takes the form or shapes of objects visible without participation of the substance whence they flow, so our Saviour took the grief or pain of every disease which

he cured, without the matter or corruption which did breed grief in the diseased patient. In all men's griefs, he was grieved; in all their pains, he was tormented. He wept with those that wept, and mourned with such as mourned. Who did groan, and he was not troubled in spirit? who did sigh, and he was not sad in heart? He took their sighs and sorrows at a lower
807 key than they themselves did which had matter of affliction or sorrow in them. Yet do we not read that he sighed, groaned, or often wept, when he cured others; but the reason was, because such as besought his help did not beseech him with sighs, with tears, or groans. At the raising of Lazarus from the dead he wept and groaned: what was the reason? Not to prejudice the allegories and mysteries which some ancient fathers have hence observed; the principal reason, according to the literal sense, why at this time he wept, was because Mary and her comforters came to him with weeping eyes. So saith the text, John xi. 33—35: *When Jesus saw her weep, and the Jews also weep which came with her, he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled in himself, and said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see: and Jesus wept.* Lazarus no doubt had sighed and groaned in his absence, had wished his presence, with these and other like expressions of sorrow: and now that he finds Lazarus dead, and Mary's cheeks for his decease bedewed with tears, he sympathizeth with her in her present grief, and by tuning his heart to Lazarus's dying pangs or throbs, he looseth him from the bonds of death, and freeth Mary and her good friends from matter of grief and sorrow, by taking her sorrow upon him.

2. And as the care of all the churches which he had planted was not the least part of St. Paul's grief and

vexation, so the sorrow which the Son of God did conceive for such as would not seek unto him for help, for such as did not sorrow for their sins, was a great part of his sufferings. Thus he wept for Jerusalem, whilst Jerusalem went mad with mirth, and resolved to banquet all her guests at that great passover with his blood. *When he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.* Luke xix. 41, 42. These tears were shed in public for the city and nation; but how many more he shed in private, or with what sighs he deplored their estate that would not implore his help, that would not feel their misery, being bound by Satan as well in body as soul; this I leave to the reader's consideration and conjecture. Even when the full weight of bodily misery did seize upon him when he was bearing the cross unto the place wherein he was crucified, he pitied Jerusalem more than he would suffer others to pity him: *Weep not for me, ye daughters of Jerusalem, but weep for yourselves.* Thus he did more than bear our griefs; for he was grieved at their miseries which did not grieve for themselves: *Nihil miserius misero non miserante seipsum.* But in all these sufferings by sympathy there was no violence, they were not mingled with disgrace or scorn. Albeit his cures were often slandered by the Scribes and Pharisees, yet were they still magnified by the parties cured, or by the people. But when his hour was come, the hour wherein he was to enter combat with the enemy of mankind, he was not one minute free from violence or indignity. The greatest evils which can befall men in this mortal life are tortures of body, indignities, or disgrace: and it is disputable whether a

wise man would not rather choose death itself, than either lingering torture, perpetual disgrace, or a foul indignity. But we need not dispute this question in the case of the Son of God: disgrace and pain, indignities and torture, did not come single upon him: one of them was another's second, whilst the conflict betwixt the serpent and the woman's seed continued. As
808 it is the property of some biting serpents to make way or entrance by their venomous teeth for the infusion of more deadly poison from some other parts of their body, so this generation of vipers, which persecuted the Son of God, used the civil power of Pilate, and the Roman soldiers, to open his veins, and lance his flesh, that their tongues might instil the poison of asps into his glorious stripes and bleeding wounds. But with the bitter taunts and indignities offered unto him, even whilst he was upon the cross, I am not to meddle in particular, they have proper seasons allotted for their memorial. It sufficeth therefore to observe, that the obedience and patience of the Son of God in these most grievous sufferings were so absolute, that we must borrow the patience of Job, not in the second temptation by bodily grievance, but in his first temptation by loss of goods or worldly substance, for a scale to set it forth. In all his sufferings, in all that his enemies' tongues or hands could do or say unto him, this servant of God did not sin so much as in word, but offered the sacrifice of prayers and supplications with the sacrifice of his soul and spirit for his persecutors.

3. Yet admit Job's patience in his bodily afflictions had been more perfect than in the first temptation it was for loss of bodily goods, and his obedience most complete, both without mixture of impatiency, without stain of disobedience, the full measure of both had not been equivalent to the least scantling of the

obedience or patience of the Son of God made man; for those acts, though otherwise equal, are always best which are done *ex officio.* Prayers, or solemn services officiated by a priest, and justice awarded by a magistrate, are more acceptable unto God, and more beneficial unto men, than if the same act or offices were more accurately performed by private men without a calling. Now Job, and other holy men, became *pro modulo,* in some sort the servants of God by obedience. It was the greater measure of their obedience which made their service more acceptable. But the obedience of the Son of God made man did result or issue from *the form of a servant,* which he voluntarily and on purpose took upon him, that he might in it and by it perform obedience more than sufficient for dissolving the force and strength of that disobedience and rebellion which the devil had wrought in the father of mankind, which with its curse became hereditary to his sinful posterity. The first Adam was created in the image of God, not in respect of holiness only, but in respect of sovereignty and dominion. The second Adam, though he were the Son of God, was moulded in *the form of a servant,* even from his first conception: for, as the apostle saith, *He who was in the form of God did empty* or *annul himself, taking upon him the form of a servant.* This was the *terminus ad quem,* the intrinsical term of the Son of God's first humiliation; for, as was said before, the Son of God did not humble or empty himself only in his manhood, or according to his manhood, after it was assumed, but in the very assumption of the manhood thus moulded in the form of a servant. His humility as man was the humility of a servant; it was not affected, but a native branch of his present calling. His obedience was not forced by constraint or fear, it was more than a branch, the very

essence of his calling: for *he took upon him the form of a servant;* it was not put upon him against his will, as it was upon Job. Nor was his obedience as man more excellent than any other man's had been, in
809 respect of its root or original only, as being the formal effect of his calling, that is, of the form of a servant which he took upon him, but most complete in respect of the end or final effect: for, having annulled himself by taking upon him the form of a servant, he further *humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.* Other servants may, with their earthly masters' consent, be set free, and supreme authority may in some cases command their masters to set them free: but *the form of a servant* was so closely united or wedded unto the Son of God manifested in the flesh, that it could not be cut off or divorced from him, save only by death, and by the death of the cross, which was a servile death, and the accomplishment of his service. But in what peculiar acts was the obedience or exercise of *the form of a servant,* which the Son of God took upon him, most conspicuous or more remarkable than they have been in other men?

4. It is a great deal more usual to our Saviour than to any prophet, to any sacred writer, or other messenger of God's will, to tell his hearers that he came not of himself, but was sent; that being sent, he came not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him; that he spake nothing of himself, but as his Father had appointed him, so he spake, and so he did. What was the reason that he that spake as never man spake, and did those works which none besides could do, should so often use these or like speeches to his auditors? Sure, his speeches unto this purpose are neither apologetical nor preventive, as if

his authority had been more questionable, or his practices more suspicious, than the authority and practices of the prophets and other holy men had been. And what was it then that gave occasion to this peculiar form of speech, or made the use of it so familiar and frequent? All his speeches to this purpose are but the characters or expressions of *the form of a servant* which he took upon him. His whole course of life, his undertakings and encounters with this stubborn people, or with Satan and his instruments, might have testified to any considerate, unpartial man, that no man being left free to himself would have adventured upon them out of the deliberate choice of an human or reasonable will. Specially his last sufferings were such as no wise man, how godly soever, would have undergone, unless they had been put upon him by authority supreme and irresistible. We may further observe, how the form of a man, and the form of a servant, which had laid quiet for three and thirty years, without any crisis of their difference, did upon the approach of his death and passion begin to struggle, but without all strife or hostile dissension, as Esau and Jacob, towards the time of their birth, had done in their mother's womb: even in the height of that triumphant and more than royal entertainment, which the multitude made him at his entrance into Jerusalem, as if he had then come to take possession of the crown of his father David, even whilst his ears were filled with these and the like acclamations, *Hosanna to the Son of David!* he began to be troubled in spirit, whilst the form or nature of man did suggest one thing, and the form of a servant correct what the form of man did suggest, and sway him another way: *What shall I say? Father, save me from this hour*[d]:

[d] John xii. 27.

so the reasonable soul of man could not but wish, it could not but apprehend this hour as an hour of evil; and evil, as evil, cannot be desired by the will of man; reason cannot but desire or wish the prevention or removal of it. But though he were the Son of God, yet, as the apostle speaks, *he learned obedience by the things which he suffered*[e]. He resolves not to do according to his own liking, but as his Father should appoint him. And hence he instantly overbalanced the formal natural desire or inclination of the form of man, with the serious consideration of his office or present calling, as he had taken upon him the form of a servant. For, as it were, recalling himself, he addeth but *therefore came I unto this hour*; to wit, that he might suffer all the evils incident to man in this world.

5. Afterwards, when his agony came upon him, his wonted natural inclination of the form of man, or sway of the reasonable soul, became more strong; and hence he puts his former wish or intimation, *Father, what shall I say? save me from this hour*, into the form of a prayer: *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me:* and yet oversways this natural inclination or desire as he was man, with a stronger desire or delight to do the office of a servant, and counterchecks that prayer which he had conceived as man, with a prayer which he had conceived *ex officio*, with a prayer of consecration, *Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou willest:* as if he had said, 'Though it be just and reasonable which I desire; so just, as thou wouldst not deny the like to any other man in my case; yet seeing I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid, in such a manner as no other man hath been, I wholly submit myself unto thy will, and consecrate myself

[e] Hebrews v. 8.

unto thy service, how hard soever it shall prove.' Abraham, we know, waxed bold with God, by often reiterating and renewing the form of his petition for Sodom. First, he prayed that God would spare the city for fifty righteous men, then for forty, then for thirty, and lastly descends to ten: his boldness was grounded upon a dictate of nature, or common principle of faith, that it was far from him who was to do justice to all the world, to slay the righteous with the wicked. Suppose God had said to Abraham, at his first petition, thus; 'Abraham, at thy request, I will for this time spare the men of Sodom, upon condition that thou, and such as supplicate for them, will become their bail, and stand between them and that storm of fire and brimstone which must shortly go out against them from my fiery presence;' would this hard condition have been accepted by Abraham, or accepted with patience? would he not have opposed this former principle with greater vehemency and passion, 'To slay the righteous for the wicked, that be far from thee, O Lord: shall the Judge of all the world thus far transgress the rule of justice?' Yet may we not think that righteous Abraham, though instyled *the friend of God*, was so much less sinful than the most sinful man in Sodom, as the man Christ Jesus was more righteous than Abraham. And what then could restrain this just and holy One from making the same plea for himself, which Abraham for himself might have made, which without offence unto his Lord, he did often make on the behalf of so many righteous men, not as were, but as he supposed possibly might be in Sodom? Only this: the Son of God, who is equal with God, to the end and purpose that he might dissolve the works which the devil had wrought in our nature, had taken our nature upon him, had made his

human flesh and human blood the flesh and blood of God himself, though not as parts of the Divine nature, yet as appurtenances of the Divine person, and was not only found in the fashion of man, but was invested with the essential form of a servant. And it is the
811 perfection of a servant, not to do his own will, but the will of his Lord. Now the body or human nature of the Son of God was not a servant to his Divine person, but to the person of his Father, whose will he was in the human nature to perform, whatsoever the performance of it should cost him. For unto this purpose only, and no other, did he take both the nature of man and form of a servant upon him, that he might in them and by them accomplish the will of his Father. As for his body, that, during the time of his humiliation, was in *bonis Patris*, the goods and possession of the Father, as every servant (properly so called) is the goods and inheritance of his master. His sufferings in this nature were to be extended, until the full price of our redemption was paid. The just measure of these his sufferings, and full price of our redemption, he did (as he was man) learn by experience.

CHAP. XII.

Of Christ's full Satisfaction for the Sins of Men, and whether to this Satisfaction the Suffering of Hell-pains were necessarily required: and of the Circumstances of his Agony.

1. THE undertakings of the Son of God for man's redemption, did for the most part consist in his sufferings. *Though he were a Son*, (saith the apostle, Heb. v. 8,) *yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* Though he were always a Son, the only Son of God, yet suffer he did not any longer than whilst he was in *the form of a servant.* Of all true service or apprenticeship, obedience is the special pro-

perty, the greatest perfection whereunto the condition of a servant, or one under legal command, can pretend. Now the perfection of obedience cannot by any means either be better exemplified or approved, than by patience in suffering. *Servants,* saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 18—24, *be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.*

2. By this unspeakable obedience of the Son of God in vouchsafing to suffer for us, with unimitable patience, what he had in no degree deserved, we, who were by natural condition slaves to Satan, were fully redeemed unto the liberty of the sons of God. Of what kind soever his sufferings were, such and so many they were, and all so patiently sustained by him, that he made 'a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,' as the ancient and our English liturgy expresseth. And that he made a full and perfect satisfaction for all the sins (whether of disobedience or impatience in sufferings) of all those men who are in any degree redeemed by him, is not ques- 812
tioned by any Christians, whether in truth or profession only, who grant that the Son of God did make any

true and proper satisfaction for the sons of men. Concerning the extent of man's redemption by the Son of God, or for his full satisfaction for their sins, we shall, if God give leave, discourse hereafter. But whether unto this full and perfect satisfaction which he undertook to make for men, if not universally, as our church teacheth, yet, as all reformed churches agree, indefinitely taken, it were necessary, requisite, or expedient, that the Son of God should in our nature undergo the same penalties or sufferings in kind, which without his satisfaction for them all mankind should have suffered, is a question which of late years hath troubled even those reformed churches which agree upon this general, that his satisfaction was most full and all-sufficient. The heat of this contention is unto this day rather abated than extinguished. Now the pains which all the sons of Adam, and Adam himself, without full satisfaction made by the Son of God, should in justice have suffered, were the pains of hell, perpetual durance in that unquenchable fire, which was of old prepared for the devil and his angels. Whether this fire, be it material or immaterial, or more than equivalent perhaps unto material fire, did seize upon the human soul or body of the Son of God, or upon both, either in his agony in the garden, or upon the cross, is the point or problem now in question. The affirmative part of this problem hath been averred by some in their public writings, under the title of the *Holy Cause;* so dignified for no other reason, as I conceive, but because it was in those days maintained stiffly by such as deemed themselves more holy than other men, at least more orthodoxal in points of sacred doctrine than their fathers in Christ, and (by confession of their own consciences) more learned than themselves. Others, taking this for granted, that Christ did suffer all the

pains of the damned, have been so far overswayed with their adherence unto this doctrine, as to misdeem that article in the Apostles' Creed concerning Christ's descending into hell, or *ad inferos*, to incline this way; as if to believe Christ did descend into hell had been all one, as if he had suffered the pains of hell in his agony in the garden or upon the cross. But if this had been any part of the true meaning of that article, the apostles, or whosoever were the first composers of the apostolic creed, as we now have it in the Latin, and especially in the English, would have expressed themselves in plainer terms: for if by *hell* in that article the pains of hell had been by them meant or intended, they would not have said that the Son of God descended into hell, but rather that hell had ascended up unto him, whether in the garden or on the cross. That the Son of God our Saviour Christ did truly descend into the nethermost hell, may with greater ease and more probability be proved out of the canonical scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, than his suffering the pains of hell can be inferred from either Testament, or from the Apostles' Creed. That Christ did, after his death, or dissolution of body and soul, descend into hell, such as maintain his suffering the very pains of hell do generally deny. But to omit this incongruous paradox, or this preposterous expression of it, that Christ's descension into hell should intimate his suffering of hell-pains before his death, it shall suffice to examine the reasons which have been or may be brought, that he did or was to suffer such pains, whensoever, or in what place soever. All the reasons 813
which can be alleged that he did suffer such pains must either be drawn from the event, or some experiments recorded in the New Testament, or from some predictions in the Old, or from a necessity or expe-

diency, whether in justice, in equity, or out of his abundant love to mankind, that he was to suffer them.

3. No necessity or expediency of such sufferings can be (as I conceive) pretended, but either for satisfying God's justice, or for his full and absolute conquest over Satan, or for his consecration to his everlasting priesthood, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things concerning God, or a sweet comforter of all such as suffer, whether in body or soul, for his sake. The ὅτι of the former question, that he did suffer the very pains of hell, must be proved or attempted from his speeches, gesture, or other experiments related by the evangelists in their accurate descriptions of his agony and sufferings upon the cross. To begin then with the relation of his agony. That is related at large by St. Matthew and St. Luke, which is scarce mentioned by St. John, whose special part in penning this sacred tragedy it was, to remember that divine discourse with his disciples, being at his last supper with them, and his repair to the garden beyond Cedron, which he had so often frequented before, that the opportunity of this place made Judas of a secret thief an open traitor.

4. The manner and circumstances of the agony itself are most fully related by St. Luke, chap. xxii. 39, &c.: *And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of Olives; and his disciples also followed. And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation. And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down and prayed,* &c. Not to dispute about the phrase here used by St. Luke, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη, as whether it imports some violent withdrawing by impulsion, or some extraordinary instinct, or whether in true construction it be no more than thus, *he did voluntarily*

withdraw himself; questionless he was by the one means or other now led the second time to be tempted. The temptation was grievous, and more extraordinary than his former temptation in the wilderness. Thus much is intimated by that peremptory monition to his apostles, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation:* partly from the manner of his prayer for himself, *Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me.* The question is, what *cup* this was whose removal he desired? It was a deadly cup, as all agree; but of what death? natural, or supernatural? death of body only, or of soul? Had the *cup* which he so feared to drink been only a death natural, or such as other men had or may taste of, his serious reiterated deprecation of it would, in some men's collections, argue less courage or resolution in him than many others, though generous yet but mere men, have exhibited either at the approach or onset of death, or in the very conflict with deadly pangs or terrors. Or if Peter at this time had not been amazed with heaviness of spirit, he might thus have crowed over his Master, '*Dulce bellum inexpertis;* when I forewarned you to be good unto yourself, and not to let these things come upon you, all the thanks I had for my pains was this, *Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not the things which are of God, but the things which be of men*[f]; and yet now thou prayest unto thy Father that these things which I advised thee to beware of may not fall upon thee: wherein then, I beseech thee, did I offend, unless 814
it were in foreseeing or foretelling, that in time it would repent thee of thy forward resolution?' But admit this cup, whose removal he now prays for, were more than either the fear or feeling of a natural death, though accompanied with more grievous symptoms

[f] Matt. xvi. 23.

than any man before him had either felt or feared, was it possible that the horror of it should not be duly apprehended by him from the time wherein he had resolved to suffer those things which Peter counselled him not to suffer? If he were ignorant how dearly his future sufferings would cost him, why did he undertake to make satisfaction for our sins by them? For to undertake any business of greater consequence out of ignorance, or out of knowledge, in part commendable, without due and constant resolution, however the success fall out, doth always prejudice, if not elevate, the just esteem of the undertaker's discretion. The undertaker in this great business of man's redemption was the Son of God, whose wisdom no man can too highly estimate, whose undertaking for us all men besides himself do esteem too low. Shall we say then he was not ignorant of any thing that should befall him, yet ignorant of them as man; or that he was ignorant of them in part, in part did foreknow them? Surely, as he was God, he did know all things before they were, before they could have any title to actual being. For infinite knowledge (such is the knowledge of the Deity, and of every Person in it) can neither be ignorant or nescient of any thing, whether future, present, or past, or of any thing possible to have been, or possible to be either for the present or future. If the least degree of knowledge of any thing past, present, or future, could accrue or result *de novo* unto the Divine nature, either in itself, or in any Person in it, whether *ab extra*, from occurrences which happen in the revolution of time, or from the supposed determination of his own will from eternity; we should hence be enforced to deny, that the wisdom or knowledge of the Divine nature, or of any Person in it, were absolutely infinite. For that unto which any thing can

accrue or be added, is not truly infinite for the present or in itself, can be no otherwise infinite than by succession, or by addition of somewhat to it besides itself. If it were true which some avouch, that God doth not, or rather cannot, foreknow contingents future, otherwise than by the determination of his own will; this supposed determination of his will (being indeed but a fancy or transformation of his will to the similitude of ours) doth not make his knowledge absolutely infinite, being of itself only capable of true infinity by this addition.

5. That God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is of wisdom and knowledge truly infinite, not by occurrences *ab extra*, from the creation, but in himself, I firmly believe. As for the manner how he doth know or foreknow things future, contingents especially, is a point which I could wish were not at all or more sparingly disputed, as being assured that this point, of all others now questioned, cannot possibly be determined by any man or angel, unless he be every way as wise as God, or somewhat wiser. God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I verily believe, did more perfectly know the degrees and qualities of all the sufferings of our Saviour in the flesh, than he himself as man did either know or foreknow them. Yet did not the divine nature, or any divine person as divine, know them by experience or painful feeling as the man CHRIST JESUS did, but by a knowledge as supereminent to the knowledge of sense or human reason, as the divine 815
nature is to the nature human; or as ubiquitary being or immensity is to circumscriptive or local presence. The divine nature, whether we consider it in the person of the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, could learn nothing which they knew not before by the sufferings of the Son, yet the Son himself as man did learn

obedience by the things which he suffered in the flesh. Whatsoever may be thought or said of other knowledge communicated to the man CHRIST JESUS, by the virtue of the personal union, yet his sensible or experimental knowledge, as of pains and sorrow, whether incident to body only, or to both body and soul, was not from his cradle infinite, was not so complete at his baptism as at his last supper, nor then so exact as in the garden or upon the cross it was. A growth or increase in this kind of knowledge is granted by such of the schoolmen as did not know or consider what it was for the Son of God to be in the form of a servant, but took this to be all one as to be in the form of a mortal man. But such as duly consider his peculiar estate or condition whilst he was in the form of a servant, will easily conceive his voluntary renouncing that full measure of knowledge which he now hath as man, and his obedient submission of his manhood unto the feeling of our infirmities, to have been a necessary part, or rather the very depth of that humiliation or exinanition of himself whereof the apostle speaks. For it is one special good quality of a servant not perfectly to know his errand, not to be too inquisitive after the particular contents of it before he be sent, but to expect instructions from him that sent him, though it be in an ambassage.

6. If we take it then as granted, that our Saviour as man did from his infancy most clearly foresee, or distinctly know, that he was to redeem mankind by tasting the bitter cup of death for them, it will not hence follow that he should at all times know either the true quality or exact measure of the pains which he was at the time appointed by his Father to suffer, for accomplishing this great work undertaken by him. For of all things that can be known by men, the

knowledge of pains, either for quality or the distinct measure of them, is least possible without experimental knowledge or sensible feeling of them. Many physicians have learnedly discoursed of the several sorts of fevers, and calculated their degrees *more mathematico*, as mathematicians do the quantity of figures, or solid bodies, or revolutions of the heavens. But the real pains or languishments of hectical, pestilential, or other fevers, the most learned physician in the world cannot distinctly know or calculate unless he feel them. Or in case by sensible experience he knew the nature or quality or several degrees of every fever, he is not hereby enabled distinctly to apprehend the maladies which attend the gout until he feel them. Or suppose he knew these maladies from the highest to the lowest degree, this will not indoctrinate him to know the extremities of the stone so perfectly and distinctly as his meanest patient doth which hath sensible experience of it, though in a middle degree. Our Saviour, long before his last resort unto the garden of Gethsemane, was a man of sorrows, had plentiful experience of human infirmities or bodily maladies: for he had felt the grief and pain of all the diseases which he had cured, by most exact and perfect sympathy with the diseased. His heart was tunable to every man's heart that did seriously impart his grief of mind or affliction of body unto him. Only in laughter or bodily mirth 816
he held no consort, for aught we read, with any man. But the grief and sorrow which in the garden he suffered, could not be known by sympathy. The protopathy was in himself, and no man, not the apostles themselves, could so truly sympathize with him in this grief, as he had done with them or the meanest of their brethren in other grievances or afflictions: for never was there on earth any sorrow

like unto the sorrow wherewith the Lord had afflicted him in this day of his wrath: yet was his obedience more than equal to his sorrow, and this obedience he learned by his sufferings.

7. But if in this hour or any other he learned obedience, this seems to argue that he was either disobedient before, or at least wanted some degree or part of obedience: for no man can be said to learn that lesson which he hath already most perfectly by heart. To this we say, that however the Son of God, or the man Christ Jesus, did never want any degree or part of habitual or implanted obedience, yet the measure of his actual obedience was not at all times the same. The obedience which the apostle saith he learned was obedience passive; and all passive obedience doth properly consist in patient suffering such things as are enjoined by lawful authority, or in submitting our wills and affections, not our bodies only, unto the just designs of superiors. Our Saviour at all times wholly submitted his human will unto his Father's will, had always undertaken with alacrity whatsoever his Father had appointed him to undertake or undergo: but his Father had never called him to such hard service as in this hour was put upon him. Now if obedience passive consist in patience of suffering, it must needs increase as the hardness of the sufferings increase, in case the hardest service be borne with equal patience, or undertaken with the same measure of submission unto his will which enjoins them, that meaner services are. Again, if the true measure of bodily pains, or sorrow of mind, cannot otherwise be known than by experience, the Son of God himself as man, and in the form of a servant, was to learn obedience, at least some new degrees of it, by gaining experience of unusual pains and sufferings.

And such questionless were those anguishes, whether of soul or body, which he suffered in the garden. That he had often prayed before this time, we read; and no doubt had always tendered his petitions to God, as to his Father, with such humility of spirit, as became an obedient son and faithful servant, as did best befit the ideal pattern of all true obedience. But we do not read, nor have we any occasion or hint to conjecture, that at any time before this he did so humble himself in prayer as at this time he did, whether we respect the form or tenor of his supplications, or his voice or bodily gesture in the delivery of them. All the circumstances of these his supplications are accurately recorded by the evangelists: *He was withdrawn*, or *did withdraw himself, from his apostles about a stone's cast.* And yet in this distance his apostles, though drowsy and heavy, did hear him pray distinctly, who had taught them and us to pray for ourselves in secret, so secretly as that none besides our heavenly Father might hear them. As for his gesture, or posture of body, that at the first delivery of his prayer and supplications was θεὶς τὰ γόνατα: so St. Luke, chap. xxii. 41. *He went forward*, saith St. Mark, *a little, and fell on the ground, and prayed*, chap. xiv. 35. So he might do, and fall on his knees, as St. Luke relates. But St. Matthew adds, *He went a* 817
little further, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me. That he thrice used this form or tenor of prayer, whether at each time he used the same posture of body, or rather falling on his knees than on his face, is not so clear, though most probably he did so. Now that which these three evangelists do intimate or imply, in the accurate relations of these circumstances, is more expressly recorded by St. Paul, Heb. v. 7, to wit, that *in*

the days of his flesh he offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears. And no wonder if streams of tears gushed from his eyes, when his whole body (as St. Luke informs us) did distil blood. The full importance of this sacred passage of St. Paul, Heb. v, from the fourth verse to the ninth, seeing it contains matter of deeper mysteries than most interpreters (which I have read) have taken any great pains to sound, must be part of the subject of another following treatise, concerning his Consecration to his everlasting Priesthood. Thus much in the meantime I take as granted, that the forecited seventh verse of the fifth chapter to the Hebrews doth in special refer unto the supplications made by our Saviour in his agony, and will be the best comment I know upon the evangelists for clearing that point now in question, what cup it was for whose removal he thrice so earnestly prayed.

8. *He offered up these his prayers,* saith the apostle, *unto him who was able to save him from death.* This is exactly parallel to the preamble which our Saviour used before the full ingruence or paroxysm of his agony; *Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; take away this cup from me,* &c. No man doubts but that his Father was able to save him from dissolution of body and soul, that is, from death itself, whether it had come by course of nature or by violence: but from this death it is plain he did not save him: of this cup, or kind of death, he tasted to the full, in the utmost extremity, upon the cross. How then is it true, which St. Paul in the forecited place addeth, *That after he offered up prayers with strong crying and tears, he was heard in that he feared,* or (as others read) *for his piety.* Whether reading we follow, this or that, the just importance of our apostle's words,

εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, is thus much at least, that *he was delivered* from that which he so much feared, though with a pious fear; for out of such a fear he offered up his prayers with strong crying and tears. The *cup* then which he so earnestly prayed might pass from him was not the cup of violent death simply considered, nor as accompanied with all the indignities done unto him by the Jews, Romans, and others, the very next day. For what then did he at this time so earnestly pray? For speedy release or deliverance from the heaviness of soul, or anguish of spirit, which now had suddenly seized upon him. The very first draught of this cup had cast him into a bloody sweat, and had he been enforced to have taken a second or third deep draught of it, or if his present anguish had been for some few hours continued, he had prevented the cruel tortures of the cross, and the indignities done unto his person by the Jews or Roman soldiers. This was that cup which Peter counselled him not to taste of, for whose removal he never prayed, as being fully resolved to pledge the utmost extremity of their malice with a far greater measure of patience: and for this reason, when Peter drew his sword for his *rescous*, (as he intended,) he checks him again as he had done, Matt. 818
xvi. 23: *Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father gives me, shall I not drink it?* John xviii. 11. But that cup which he so earnestly did pray might pass from him, did certainly vanish with his agony, and his agony did endure no longer than he offered up his supplications and prayers—about the space of an hour. There remained no sign or symptom of it after the traitor had delivered him up into his enemies' hands. Or if we ponderate St. Luke's relation of his agony aright, his prayers were heard upon the first or second uttering of them. Seeing ear

or deliverance from the ingruence of pains, is all that they pressed for in the present desires, it is all one whether the burden be lessened, or his strength to bear it be increased; his ease and comfort is either way the same. Admit then the heavy burden laid upon the Son of God in the days of his flesh had continued the same, or perhaps increased, from his first entering into the garden, yet his prayers were heard, in that an angel was sent, whether to strengthen him or to comfort him, Luke xxii. 43. The word in the original is often used for such internal strength as men recover by some comfortable refection when they are faint for want of meat, or by gathering their spirits after they have been dissipated or dejected by sudden fear or amazement. It would perhaps be accounted impertinent to make inquiry what angel it was which was sent to comfort or strengthen the Son of God in that extremity of his agony. Yet many of the ancients, and of modern interpreters not a few, are of opinion that it was the same angel which did annunciate his birth and conception, and that was the angel Gabriel; who, though perhaps he did not take his name from his foreseen deputation to his function, yet did he never brook it better in any former acts of his ministry, than in the performance of this present service. His name imports as much as *the strength of God*, and at this time he strengtheneth the man Christ Jesus, who then was and now is the Son of God, as truly God as man. Now if he who was the Son of God did receive strength or comfort from an angel, it is no paradox or solecism to say, that he learned obedience by the things which he suffered, or that these present sufferings were unknown to him as man until he felt them. For no reason can be to my apprehension conceived, why he who was the Son of God might not be capable of some

growth in knowledge, experimental especially, as well as in bodily quantity or strength of body. Concerning the nature and quality of those sufferings wherein he was strengthened or comforted by an angel, as whether they were natural or supernatural, or if supernatural, whether they were the very pains of hell, or such as we should have suffered without his satisfaction, cannot be inferred either from the unusual form of his prayers, uttered with strong cries, or from his gesture in the garden.

9. Some there be who take his bloody sweat in that grievous agony to be a symptom of infernal pains. But from what grounds, either in philosophy or divinity, I know not. If the pains of hell, or hellish pains, (so some distinguish,) be procured by the fire of hell, (be that material or immaterial,) bloody sweat can be no probable effect of the one or other fire. Nor is such sweat any τεκμήριον, or demonstrative sign of pains more grievous than may be inflicted by agents or suffered by patients merely natural. For however in colder countries bloody sweats be as rare in men's bodies as showers of blood in the air, yet, as a good philosopher hath long ago observed, to sweat 819
blood is not unusual to Italians[g]; yet usual only (as I take it) to men of that climate in some peculiar diseases. The most remarkable instance which I have read of bloody sweat in a man not oppressed with any disease, is of a captain[h], an Italian, (if I mistake not,)

g Curæus.

h Capta Dragonera, Magio negotium datum, ut Montemmarinum munitissimum locum aggrederetur. Igitur secum ducto Augusto Saluciarum principis notho filio, eo tendit: evocatoque quasi ad colloquium præsidiariorum duce ab Augusto, quicum arctissima intercedebat amicitia; Magius ex compacto superveniens eum comprehendi jussit, et ut locum dederet, hortatus; cum nihil proficeret, postremo minas addidit et ipsum vinctum quasi ad supplicium in oppidi

who being surprised by the subtilty of his enemy, whom he had trusted too far upon a *tryste* of parley, and thereby enforced either to yield up the fort which he had stoutly maintained, or otherwise to be presently hanged; the consideration of this perplexity, wherewith through his own folly he had entangled himself, did make such deep impression into his generous spirits, that it squeezed blood out of his veins. Our Saviour (no doubt) as man, had a more full apprehension of all the malicious disgraces and cruel indignities which his enemies could put upon him, than this captain had. The measure of his bodily sufferings and personal wrongs were in number far more, and for quality far more grievous, than ever were intended to this captain, or to any other mortal man by their enemies. And though the death of the cross was in itself an ignominious and cruel death, yet in our Saviour's particular that was most true, *mortis modus morte pejor;* the manner of his apprehension, of his double arraignment, and conviction, of his usage before he was brought to the place of execution, and all the time whilst the malice of Jew and Gentile was wreaked upon him, was more grievous than the death of the cross itself without these grievous concomitants could have been. To scan these briefly, and in order. The very manner of his apprehension made some impression of sorrow and indignation in him, as appears by the character of his speech, Luke xxii. 52, &c.: *Then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come*

conspectum deduci imperavit. Tam miserabili spectaculo victi oppidani, ut ducem suum periculo eximerent, deditionem fecere. Observatum, tam indignæ mortis vehementi metu adeo concussum animo eum fuisse, ut sanguineum sudorem toto corpore funderet.—Thuan. lib. (10. pag. 221. 1.) 11. cap. 1. tom. 1. pag. 373.

out, as against a thief, with swords and staves? When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, &c. And so no question did their binding of him in bonds, by all probability, and circumstances more grievous and more disgraceful than ordinary felons, thieves, or murderers, in those days were liable unto, especially before legal conviction. For Judas, who had bargained with the high priests and elders for making delivery of him into their hands, had forewarned them, Matt. xxvi. 48, *Lead him away safely;* as if he had said, 'Be sure ye make him fast.' Whether the traitor thus spake out of a desire to have him put to death, or only to secure himself against all quirks of law concerning his bargain, in case JESUS (as he oft had done) should escape out of their hands, I will not peremptorily determine; albeit I am not ignorant that divers of the exquisitest interpreters, and other good writers, are of opinion that Judas betrayed him, not so much out of malice as out of covetousness, being persuaded he was able to quit himself from any restraint that they could lay upon him. In the mean time, however it fared with his Master, or with them to whom he delivered him, he resolved to free his gainful bargain from further question. And this may be the probable reason of his relentance, after he saw his Master condemned to death, without all hope of rescue or reprieval So it often falls out, that when the events fall out worse than the projectors intended, albeit their first intentions were in themselves wicked, the consideration hereof brings them commonly to such remorse, as causeth despair sooner than any degree of true repentance. And for Judas to make his gain, or to redeem the loss which he had suffered by the waste of ointment, as he interpreted it, poured upon his head, by the delivery

of his Master, although he did not at all intend his death, was an odious treason, which is always the proper fruit of a base and covetous mind. And both branch and fruit, the covetousness and the treason, might be a corrosive to our Saviour, and in part occasion his agony. So might the malicious disposition, and ignominious proceeding of the priests and elders against him, be more grievous to him than the pains of death, or public disgraces which he suffered by them. The suborning of false witnesses against him was more distasteful to his righteous soul than all the sufferings and scornful revilings which they bestowed upon him. But amongst all the indignities which Satan and his instruments could invent, these were the most grievous. First, their begging of Barabbas's pardon, when Pilate would have dismissed or reprieved Jesus. This was a cruel kind of mercy, the true effect of preposterous zeal and pharisaical hypocrisy. For this custom of shewing mercy, or begging pardon for some prisoner at the great feast of the passover, was first instituted in the remembrance of the mercy which God had shewed unto their fathers in delivering them out of Egypt. And in requital of this extraordinary favour, which the Lord God of Israel had shewed to their fathers, they deliver him to be crucified by the Gentiles, being set up by Pilate, an heathen governor, in competition for this poor favour, with Barabbas, a notable rebel, thief, and murderer. Another indignity was the sudden execution of this most unjust sentence, not giving him such competent time as other prisoners had to dispose of himself, and of his estate, or to make preparation for death: for this session was not called for him, but for others who had been in custody before, yet he is cast into the bargain, as a fragment or refused remnant, as a party no more con-

siderable than a cutpurse taken in the manner in open court, whilst others are arraigned. Now all these indignities, and many more, as the evangelists tell us, Christ did foresee before his agony seized upon him. And might not the foresight or due apprehension of them, and of the lingering death which these did usher in, or both put together, more probably cause that agony and sweat in the garden, than the apprehension of death and indignities approaching, or than the extremity of some diseases do the like effects in other men?

10. As for the sweating of blood in some diseases, that is never occasioned by any apprehension of the disease occurrent, but only by the ingruence of the disease itself, whereof it is an effect or symptom. Or if it be objected that our Saviour might have a deeper apprehension of his death approaching, than any other man had of diseases before they did actually seize upon him; yet is there no reason to suspect, that he had not the same apprehension long before he entered into the garden, or that this apprehension, whether of death or indignities, should not be improved by sensible experiments of the violences after done unto him in the high priest's hall by the Roman soldiers, or by his scourging at Pilate's command, which was more cruel than others condemned to die the death of the cross did suffer, because Pilate hoped that the sight of his gory stripes might quench the malicious heat of the 821
Jews, and acquit him from further condemnation. Yet in all his ensuing sufferings we do not read or find that he had any symptoms of that anguish which came upon him in the garden: he did not so much as pray unto his Father for any release from the tortures and indignities which he actually felt by sensible experience, but rather for his enemies which had procured

them. Or if his bloody sweat in the garden had been occasioned (as in all probability it was not) from any foresight or apprehension of his indign usage by the Jews, and by the Roman soldiers, whilst he was in hold, or upon the cross, it could not be any symptom of hellish or infernal pains.

11. Yet that he suffered such pains upon the cross hath been avouched too confidently by some, and more peevishly maintained by others. One especial ground pretended for this ill-sounding doctrine is that exclamation uttered by him a little before his death; *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* The collections which many learned writers of the Romish church have drawn from Calvin's comments upon these words are too plentiful to be here inserted, and the imputations which they lay upon him and his followers unanswerable, if he meant or spake as they express his meaning, to wit; that these words should argue a sensible experience of hell-pains, or the worst symptoms of such pains, as either despair, distraction of mind, or discontent. I should be very sorry to read them in Calvin, or in any other writer of the reformed churches; very unwilling distinctly to call to memory some passages in late English writers, which to my remembrance incline too much this way. All I can say in Calvin's defence, if he peremptorily affirm that our Saviour did suffer the pains of hell upon the cross, is this: If it be an heresy, (as the Romish church doth make it, and I cannot gainsay them, if it be stiffly maintained,) the heresy was broached by a great and learned Romish cardinal[i] before Calvin wrote. And when the pope, who is the pretended judge of all heresies, shall condemn his books for heretical, or his opinion in this particular for an heresy, I shall be

[i] Cusanus.

ready to persuade the church of England (as far as I am able) to do the like. The true importance of our Saviour's exclamation, or proclamation rather, upon the cross, (for he uttered it *voce magna*, with a proclamatory voice,) will come to be scanned in the next treatise. But if Satan, either by his own strength or by special permission from God the Father, did tempt our Saviour upon the cross, whether immediately, or mediately by the malicious stratagems of the Jews and by the profaneness of the Roman soldiers, so far as to proclaim his own despair or diffidence of God's favour towards him, or to the least degree of impatience or discontent, it would be hard to make any construction of our Saviour's prediction, John xiv. 30, *The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me;* or, as some have more fully expressed the Hebraism, *nothing against me.* As certainly he had no matter to work upon, no occasion of solace either to himself or to his infernal associates, as if they had moved him to the least degree of diffidence or impatience. For our Saviour questionless was more than certain, by a more excellent certainty than the certainty of faith, that he should be saved from the second death; that he should never fall away from God's favour, nor be for a moment forsaken of him. Otherwise he had been a less faithful servant of God, less mindful of special revelations made to him as man, than they are who believe their 822
own special election or predestination only upon application of God's general promises to themselves in particular. For, besides the internal revelations made to him as man, he had many public assurances, such as others besides himself did hear; none of which he did ever distrust or doubt, much less could he fear lest his Father should be so far displeased with him as ever to forsake him. Now his pains upon the cross were

grievous, and the indignities done unto him to flesh and blood intolerable, yet his apprehension of celestial joys due unto him was never interrupted. And out of this never interrupted apprehension, or rather view of these joys, *he endured the cross, and despised the shame,* as our apostle tells us, Heb. xii. 2. Not only his apprehension of these, but his most circumspect observance of all opportunities to do his Father's will, and to see all the scriptures concerning him fulfilled, was never more conspicuously remarkable, whilst he was upon the cross, than in his last conflict with death. The fulfilling of the prophecies concerning his sufferings requires a peculiar treatise. For his extraordinary circumspection about that very point of time wherein he uttered these words, *Eli, Eli, lamasabachthani? My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* that is abundantly testified by St. John, who was an earwitness of his speeches: *Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.* John xix. 25—27.

CHAP. XIII.

The bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God was all-sufficient to make full Satisfaction for the Sins of the World, without his suffering of any supernatural or unknown Pains.

1. BUT however the former pretended conclusion concerning Christ's suffering the pains of hell, or any of their symptoms, cannot be inferred either from this bloody sweat in the garden, or from any speeches of

his, or any effect related by the evangelists, yet the favourers of this conclusion, rather than they would give it over, endeavour to prove it by reason drawn from the final cause of all his sufferings. The suffering of the pains of hell (say they) was necessarily required to the full satisfaction for all our sins, which all good Christians confess he did bear, both in his agony and upon the cross. But the very foundation of this assertion is very weak, and the superstructure worse; most derogatory to the infinite worth of Christ's bloody sacrifice. First, it is not required by the rules of equity, whether divine or human, that satisfaction for wrongs done should always be made in kind, or by way of counterpassion: it is in many cases more full and more sufficient when it is made by equivalency, than if it were made in kind. As in case a man in his rage should cruelly beat his neighbour, or butcher his cattle, to permit the party which suffered the wrong, whether in his person or in his goods, to 823
exercise the like rage or cruelty upon his person or live goods which did the wrong, could be no true satisfaction either to the law or party wronged, but rather beastly revenge. The best satisfaction which in this case could be awarded to the party wronged, would be to give him such contentment in one kind or other, as might in reason, though not to passion, be as beneficial and useful to him as the effects of his fury and rage which did the wrong were in just estimation hurtful; and yet such withal as should make the offender as unwilling to do the like wrong again, as the party wronged or any in his case would be to suffer it. This is the only true satisfaction which in the same or like case could be justly made to the law, whose true intendment always is to make all men willing to do to others as they desire should be done

unto them: unwilling to do any thing to others which they would not have done unto themselves. Our father Adam had wronged our common nature, and all of us had offended our Creator more grievously than any man can wrong another. Now in that our God and Creator is withal the eternal rule of justice, or rather justice itself, it was requisite that satisfaction should be made unto him in the fullest degree. For one man, for all men which had done this wrong, to make satisfaction to infinite Majesty, either in whole or in part, was impossible. Though all mankind had been condemned to suffer uncessantly both in body and soul, they might by this means have been continually making satisfaction, but never have made it, albeit their sufferings had been endless. Therefore was this great work undertaken by the Son of God made man for us.

2. Suppose then all this had been foreknown before our Saviour was incarnate, ever since the fall of our first parents, and the sentence denounced against them, it would have been a more grievous sin in our first parents, or in any of their posterity, than the sin of the old serpent in seducing them or us to yield to his suggestions, to have besought God the Father, that his only Son should make satisfaction for us in the very same kind which we should have made, but could never make, that is, by suffering the pains of hell. That the man Christ Jesus might suffer such pains as the damned shall do, was perhaps the desire of Satan, that which the great enemy of mankind did most earnestly labour to effect. And if thus he did but desire, this was the greatest actual sin which either he or his infernal associates ever had committed or can commit. Whatsoever they might desire, all that our heavenly Father could require of his only Son,

after he became our surety, was, to make full satisfaction for all our sins against his Deity, or the eternal rule of justice. But all this he knew might be accomplished by his only Son after a more excellent manner, than either by exercising his wrath due unto us, or by suffering Satan, whose redemption his Son did no way undertake, to wreak the utmost of his malice or foehood against mankind upon him. For myself, amongst others, I must confess, I could never understand the language of many professed divines, who would persuade us that the full vials of God's wrath due unto our sins were poured upon his Son. Whatsoever their meaning be, which I presume is much better than I can gather from their expressions, the manner of speech (to say no worse) is very improper, and to me unpleasant. For how was it possible God the Father should be wroth with him in whom alone he was always well pleased. But wrath or anger against any one are always the effects of some displeasure precedent; and 824
no satisfaction can be made whilst displeasure is taken, or wrath kindled, against the party which seeks to make satisfaction or reconciliation. Now the infliction or permission of hell-pains to be inflicted upon any, is the award, not of God's judgment, but of his wrath and fury.

3. If it be objected that our sins were infinite, though not for number yet for quality, because committed against an infinite Majesty, and consequently that no satisfaction, according to the exact rule of justice, could be made without punishment or penalties truly infinite, the answer is as orthodoxal as easy or common—That the satisfaction made for us by the Son of God was more truly infinite than the sins of mankind were; for it was absolutely infinite, *non quia passus est infinita, sed quia qui passus est erat*

infinitus. The person or party who made satisfaction for us, or party which undertook the satisfaction, was both in majesty and in goodness as truly infinite as the Majesty and Goodness whom we had offended, and by whom exact satisfaction was required; both of them were both ways absolutely infinite. I omit the weakness of such calculatory arguments as this, 'Our sins were absolutely infinite, because committed against an infinite Majesty,' as too well known to most students, and often enough, if not too often, deciphered in other of my meditations. For this being admitted, all sins should be equal, because all are committed against the same infinite Majesty and Goodness. As for the true measure of our sins and ill deservings, that must be taken from the measure of God's displeasure against them; and that is but equal to the several degrees of our disobedience to his most holy laws and commandments. This then we verily believe: that the full height and measure of all disobedience and rebellions against God was neither higher nor greater than the obedience which his Son performed in our flesh, or whilst he stood in the condition of a servant; that our heavenly Father was never so much displeased at all our disobediences, as he was well pleased with the obedience of his only Son, or with their obedience that are truly ingraffed in him, and are made partakers of his obedience in his sufferings. Both parts of this conclusion may with facility be evinced in the judgment of all men which have subscribed unto, or do admit the principles in divinity, whether legal or evangelical.

4. It was a maxim undoubted in the time of the law, that obedience was better than sacrifice; the corollary or consequence of which maxim doth amount to this point; that obedience without sacrifice was

always better than sacrifice without obedience. Yet such sacrifices as were appointed by God, being offered out of the spirit of obedience, were always more acceptable than obedience alone. Such sacrifices as were appointed by God himself, unless they were offered in obedience and out of conformity to his law, were abominable: the principal part of obedience which the law required, was the humble confession of the parties' sins for whose sakes they were offered: this confession was made over the heads of the beasts which were offered; the parties offering them always acknowledging, either expressly by their tongues, or implicitly in heart, that they had better deserved a cruel death than the dumb creatures which they sacrificed had done. Briefly, legal sacrifices were then acceptable when their offerers put on such affections as David maketh expression of when he saw the people plagued for his sins, or at least when the punishment of their own 825
sins came suddenly upon them through his folly: *Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done*[a]? Yet even whilst the best of God's people thus affected did offer the best kind of legal sacrifices, (bullocks whilst their horns and hoofs began to spread,) their sacrifice and obedience did but lovingly meet, they were not mutually wedded or betrothed. But whilst the Son of God did offer up himself for us upon the cross, his sacrifice and obedience were more strictly united than man and wife, than man's soul and body; for betwixt these there is ofttimes dissension or reluctance; so was there never betwixt Christ's divine person who was the offerer, and the human nature which was the offering. His human nature and will before it was sacrificed, and whilst it was sacrificed, was more obedient to his

[a] 2 Samuel xxiv. 17.

Father's will, than our first parents' senses or affections in their integrity were unto their reasonable souls. *When he cometh into the world,* as our apostle interprets the psalmist[b], *he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared* or *fitted for me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hadst no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come* (*in the volume of the book it is written of me*) *to do thy will, O God.* This will of God, accomplished through the sacrifice of his Son, was that will of God by which we are sanctified, and if sanctified, then justified; yet not justified without satisfaction before made. Of the full meaning of this place, and of the true reconciliation of the seventy interpreters (whom the apostle follows) with the psalmist or the original, by God's grace hereafter. Thus much is pertinent to our present purpose: that the body which the Son of God assumed to do that will of his Father which could not be accomplished by any other sacrifices, (though numberless and endless,) was a body fitted for all kinds of calamities and crosses which are incident unto mortality; a body more capable of pain, or deeper impressions from the violent occurrences of all externals which are natural, than any other man's body was or had been; a body, as it were, moulded and organized of purpose to be animated or actuated with the spirit of obedience, and all manner of patience in suffering which can be required in a faithful servant. *Servants,* saith St. Peter, *be obedient,* &c. *For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully*[c]. CHRIST JESUS, who was the pattern of all obedience required in servants, not only whilst he was to deal with malicious, unreasonable men, but in the very ἀκμὴ of his agony, (when his heart within

[b] Psalm xl. Heb. x. 5, 6, 7. [c] 1 Pet. ii. 18, 19.

him was become like melting wax through the vehemency of that fiery trial,) did set the fairest copy of that obedience which St. Peter requires should be taken out (how rudely soever) by every servant of God under his own hand. Even in this agony, when his mortal spirits did faint and languish, the spirit of obedience was much stronger in him than the pulse of pain and sorrow. It did not intermit or abate when his pains and anguish did increase: *Being in agony,* saith St. Luke, *he prayed more earnestly,* chap. xxii. 44. These words I refer, if not to the third, yet certainly to the second paroxysm of his agony, one or more of which fits did wring blood from his sacred body, being otherwise full of health. But most probable it is, from St. Luke's relation, chap. xxii. 44, that he sweat blood both in the first and second fit, and that in all the three he delivered his supplications θεὶς τὰ γόνατα, *kneeling,* or *falling upon the ground.* The form of his prayer and manner of deportment in it (as was 826
said before) exhibit a true document or demonstrative argument, that besides his divine will he had a will truly human, a reasonable will, in that he did desire or deprecate the removal or assuagement of his present sufferings with greater fervency of spirit and devotion, than any sons of Adam could deprecate the pains of hell, if they should be beset with them, or feel their approach. And yet withal he wholly submits his human body, soul and will, unto his heavenly Father's will, who, by his consent, had free power to dispose of them in life and death as he pleased. Out of this fervent spirit of obedience, consecrated unto God's service by his most devout prayers, he was delivered from the pains and terrors which he both feared and felt in the garden.

5. As for his sacrifice upon the cross, albeit we subduct

the worth of it in itself considered, (which infinitely exceeds the worth of all other sacrifices,) it was most properly and most really the sacrifice of a broken heart or contrite spirit: for after his natural strength was spent, and his bodily spirits diffused with his blood, he lastly offers up his immortal spirit, his very soul, unto his Father: *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.* Luke xxiii. 46. The spirit of obedience did not expire with bodily spirits, it did accompany his soul into Paradise; it was not put off with the form of a servant, but clothed upon with glory and immortality. Shall we yet doubt, whether the sacrifice upon the cross, being offered out of such unexpressible obedience, were fully sufficient to make abundant satisfaction for all our disobediences, albeit we should subduct his obedience and patience in that grievous agony in the garden?

6. If any man be disposed to move further doubt about this point, the apostle's authority, or rather his reason, will put the point out of question, Hebrews ix. 11—14: *But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?* The form and manner of his dispute in this passage, as in most others throughout this epistle, is allegorical; but allegories in

true theology always include arguments of proportion, and are as firm as any geometrical or mathematical demonstration. The terms of proportion in this argument are especially four. First, sins merely ceremonial, that is, such errors and escapes as are evil, because forbidden, not evil in themselves. The second, the remedy appointed for such sins, and that was the blood of bulls and goats, &c. The third, sins properly so called, that is, all offences or trespasses against the law of nature, or against the law of God: things not evil only because forbidden, but rather forbidden because evil in their own nature. The fourth term is, the antidote or preservative against such sins as in their nature poison our souls, and this sovereign preservative is only the blood of Christ. The apostle takes it for granted, that the sacrifice of bulls and goats were sufficient to make satisfaction for sins merely ceremonial; and the blood available so far to sanctify the parties offending against the law of ceremonies, as that 827
they might be admitted into the congregation, or stand *recti* in *curia*, after the sacrifice was once offered. Of this purification concerning the flesh by the blood of such sacrifices, that which the Romanists say of the sacraments of the New Testament might be more probably said, *Conferebant gratiam ex opere operato*. The ceremonial sin was taken away by a ceremonial offering. From this known maxim concerning the law of ceremonies, or legal sacrifices, St. Paul takes his rise unto the high mystery of the gospel, to wit, that the offering which the Son of God did make upon the cross was more sufficient, as well for making full satisfaction unto God for all sins committed against his law, as for purifying the conscience of offenders from dead works; more effectual to make men partakers of the true celestial sanctuary, than the blood of beasts

was for making them legally clean. Purification from sin, or sanctification, always presupposed full satisfaction for the sins committed. To cleanse men from sins merely ceremonial, or to sanctify them according to the flesh, the bloody sacrifice of brute beasts was sufficient, although they suffered no other pains than natural, albeit they felt no force or assault of any agents but merely natural; much more is the blood of Christ of force sufficient, not only to make a full atonement for us, but to cleanse us from all sins, although he suffered no pains supernatural, although he had suffered no force or impression of any agents more than natural. All this is but a branch of our apostle's inference. For albeit sins committed against the moral law of God do in a manner infinitely exceed sins committed against the law of ceremonies only, yet are not the sins of the one kind so much more heinous than the sins of the other, as the blood of Christ doth for virtue exceed the blood of bulls and goats. Nor is there that odds of difference betwixt sins moral and sins ceremonial which is between the priests of the law and the High Priest of our souls, the Son of God. And yet the main ground of our apostle's inference doth not simply consist in the superexcellency of the High Priest of our souls, or of the sacrifice which he offered, in comparison with legal priests and their sacrifices, but withal in the admirable union of our High Priest and his sacrifice. For admit it as possible, first, that there might have been some matter of sacrifice as pure and spotless as the body of our Saviour, more pure and glorious than the angelical substances: secondly, that this pure and spotless sacrifice had been offered by a priest, for dignity equal to the Son of God, (as by the Holy Ghost the third person in Trinity,) yet his offering or service could not have been so acceptable unto

God, as our Saviour's offering or service was, because the infinite worth of the priest, or person sacrificing, could not in this case have conferred any worth or virtue truly infinite upon the sacrifice or offering made by him, though as holy and glorious as any created substance can be, unless it had been so personally united to him, that in offering it he had offered himself, as our Saviour did. This is the main stem, or rather the root of our apostle's emphatical inference or surplus in the forecited place: *How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?*

7. Answerable to this hypostatical or personal union between our High Priest and his sacrifice, was that union between his obedience to his Father and his mercy and compassion towards men. Obedience, mercy, 828
and sacrifice were so united in his offering as they never had been before. His own death was the internal effect of his mercy towards us, and obedience to his Father the period of his humiliation of himself: *He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even unto the death of the cross.* That we know was a cruel and servile death, but no part of the second death, not charged with the pains of hell, otherwise our apostle would have mentioned them, as the accomplishment of his obedience or of his service; which without them did exceed the very abstract or pattern, either of service or obedience: *Quid est servitus, nisi obedientia animi fracti, et arbitrio carentis suo?* "Servitude," saith Tully[d], "is nothing else but the obedience of a broken or dejected mind, utterly deprived of all power or right to dispose of itself," or of its actions. It is indeed dejection of mind, a broken estate, or baseness

[d] In his Paradoxes.

of condition, which make men willing to become servants unto others, or enforceth them to resign all their right and power unto their master's will. But it was no dejection of mind, no want of any thing in heaven or earth, but only the abundance of mercy and compassion towards us miserable men, which moved the Son of God to renounce this world before he came into it, and to deprive himself of all that right and interest which every other man hath over his own body and soul, by voluntary resignation of his entire human nature unto the sole disposing of his Father. Other servants were obedient unto their lords upon necessity, or dejection of mind; he voluntarily became a servant to his Father, that he might accomplish the office of a servant in the sacrifice of a broken and contrite spirit. This was the internal effect of his service and obedience; and this sacrifice thus offered was all-sufficient to make satisfaction for all the disobedience of men, for the sins of ten thousand worlds of men.

CHAP. XIV.

That our Saviour in his Agony (at least) did suffer Pains more than natural, though not the Pains of Hell or hellish Pains: that the Suffering of such Pains was not required for making Satisfaction for our Sins, but for his Conquest over Satan.

1. BUT albeit the bloody sacrifice of the Son of God were, as God himself is, all-sufficient to these purposes, may we hence collect that he suffered no pains more than natural, or of no other kind than his martyrs, apostles, or prophets have done? God forbid! Between pains natural and the pains of hell there is a mean; to wit, pains altogether supernatural in respect of the agent, and someways more than natural in respect of the patient; and such pains out of all ques-

tion the Son of God did suffer in the garden, though not upon the cross. Nor were these his sufferings superfluous, though no way necessary for paying the full ransom or price of man's redemption or reconciliation unto God. Most expedient they were, if not necessary, to other purposes: as, first, for his absolute conquest over Satan; secondly, for his consecration to his everlasting priesthood. Of his conflict with Satan in 829
the garden, (a place suitable to that wherein he had conquered our first parents,) Job's second temptation was the type or shadow. His Father exposed him to the second temptation, as he had unto the first temptation in the wilderness, and permitted Satan to exercise the utmost of his power against him; only over his soul or life he had no power. These were taken from him by the malice of men, and by the death of the cross, not by the immediate power of Satan. That the conflict in the garden was extraordinary; that in this hour the decretory battle betwixt the old serpent and the woman's seed was to be fought, (at least the brunt of it,) the letter of the scripture is to my apprehension very plain: as, first, from that speech of our Saviour's after his maundy, John xiv. 30, *Hereafter I will not talk much with you: for the prince of this world cometh:* with greater violence surely than at any time before had been permitted him to use. For our Saviour uttered these words immediately after Satan had entered into Judas; at which time his commission to enter the lists with the holy seed of the woman was first to be put in execution. It hath always seemed to me a mystery or secret, whereof no reason can be given in nature, how Satan gains greater power of doing mischiefs and harms to men by secret compact with others of their own nature, as with witches,

or other of his own worshippers, than is permitted him to use by his own immediate power or strength. Judas, though he was no witch, yet was he a worshipper of Satan, one who had made mammon his god, for whose service he had resolved to betray his Master into the hands of his enemies. It is pregnant again from that saying of our Saviour immediately upon the cessation or intermission of his agony and bloody sweat, that Satan's assaults were at this time extraordinary: *When I was daily with you in the temple, you stretched out no hand against me. Sed hæc est hora vestra, et potestas tenebrarum: But this is your hour, and the hour appointed for the powers of darkness to try their strength against me.* But after they could get no advantage of him by grappling with him in the garden, being not able to move him to the least signification of any impatience, or overture of discontent, as Satan had done Job in his second temptation, they leave him unto the malice of his mortal enemies, being assured they should get advantage enough over their souls, and prevalently tempt them to cruelty and hatred towards this Holy One more than natural. The hour of his terrible combat with Satan was but newly expiring, when thus he spake to the chief priests and elders. And howbeit this word *hour* sometimes imports more than an hour (as we say) by the clock, some larger indefinite time or season, yet that in the forecited place it is to be taken for a just hour, and no more, many circumstances of the text persuade me; this especially, when he saith to his disciples, *Could ye not watch with me one hour?* As if he had said, 'Of all the time that I have been with you, this was the only hour wherein your watchfulness and attendance on me had been on your parts most requisite, and to me most

acceptable.' And the effect of his petition, as St. Mark expresseth it, was thus, *that if it were possible the hour might pass from him*[e]. This was the hour wherein he tasted the bitter cup, whose present bitterness upon his prayer was, if not altogether taken away, yet assuaged, and the hour itself, wherein he was to taste of it, perhaps shortened.

2. This conflict with Satan, and the issue of it, our Saviour apprehended at his triumphant ingress into 830
Jerusalem, immediately after his future glorification was avouched by a voice from heaven, three days before he entered into his agony: *Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again,* &c. *Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* John xii. 27, 28, &c. In what sense, or how far the world at this time was judged, exhibits plentiful matter of controverse divinity, not immediately emergent from the positive points of divinity now in hand. And for this cause I must request the ingenuous reader for the present to take a matter which before was proposed into deeper consideration. The point is briefly this: Our first parents, in the selfsame fact by which they became rebellious, *ipso jure*, committing high treason against their God and Creator, did subject themselves and their posterity unto the tyrannical dominion of Satan. His vassals and slaves all of us were by right most sovereign amongst the sons of men, by right of conquest in duel. Now albeit the conqueror was a traitor and rebel against God,

[e] Mark xiv. 35.

although he did first commit, or at least accomplish this his rebellion and treason, by withdrawing our first parents from that allegiance and obedience, which by law of nature they and we ought perpetually to have borne unto our Maker, yet so observant of all rules of equity and just form of proceedings was he, who is goodness, equity, and justice itself, that unto Satan, the professed rebel against him, and implacable enemy towards man, he did vouchsafe the benefit of the law of arms or duel. Now seeing Satan, being not omnipotent, but of power, force, and subtilty limited, had thus subdued our first parents, whom their Creator had endowed with freedom and power sufficient to dispose of their actions for the future good of themselves and their posterity; his gracious goodness would not take us out of this rebel's hands by the omnipotent power or irresistible force of his Godhead. Man being conquered by his sometimes fellow-creature, was in the wisdom of Divine equity to be rescued from this bondage by a creature, by a man of the same nature and substance, subject to all the infirmities (sin excepted) to which we are subject, as taking his substance from that man whom Satan had conquered. As Satan did not appear in his own shape or likeness when he subdued our first parents, (for so no question they would have been more wary to have closed with him,) but disguised in the similitude of a serpent, which was a creature more subtle than all the beasts of the field, yet a creature every way far inferior to man; so the Son of God did not enter this combat with Satan in the glory and strength of his Godhead, but in his Godhead as it were disguised or clothed upon with the true nature and substance of man, and of a man whom Satan upon trial before had known to be throughly subject to the infirmities of mortality, otherwise he had more wit

than to have entered the lists with him in the second conflict.

3. How much dearer this conflict with Satan cost our Saviour, than Job's second temptation cost him, he only knows; and this knowledge he learned by patience and obedience in suffering these pains, of what kind soever they were. The ancient Greek liturgies express them best by ἀγνωστὰ παθήματα, "the unknown sufferings:" such, I take it, as no man in this life besides our 831
Saviour alone did suffer, nor shall ever any man suffer the like in the life to come, in which the pains of hell shall be too well known unto many. But that our Saviour in this life should suffer such pains is incredible: for this being granted, the powers of darkness had prevailed more against him than Satan did against Job. For the actual suffering such pains includes more than a taste, a draught of the second death, unto which no man is subject before he die the first death: nor was it possible that our Saviour should ever taste them either dying or living, or after death. This error, it seems, hath surprised some (otherwise good divines) through incogitancy, or want of skill in philosophy. For by the unerring rules of true philosophy, the nature, quality, or measure of pains must be taken, not so much from the force or violence of the agent, as from the condition or temper of the patient: *Actus agentium sunt in patiente rite disposito.* The fire hath not the same operation upon gold as it hath upon lead; nor the same upon green wood which it hath on dry. Or if a man should deal his blows with an even hand between one sound of body and of strong bones, and another sickly, crazy, or wounded, the pains, though issuing from the equality of the blows, would be most unequal: that which would hardly put the one to any pain at all, might drive the other into the

very pangs of death. Goliath did look as big, did speak as roughly, and every way behave himself as sternly against little David, as he had against Saul and the whole host of Israel; yet his presence, though in itself terrible, did make no such impression of terror upon David as it had done upon Saul and the stoutest champions in his host. And the reason why it did not, was because David was armed with the shield of faith, and confidence in the Lord his God; a secret armour which was not then to be found in all the kingdom of Israel besides. But a far greater than Goliath, associated and seconded with a far greater host, both for number and strength, than the Philistines in David's time were able to make, more maliciously bent against the whole race of Adam than the Philistines at this or any other time were against the seed of Abraham, was now in field. And all of us are bound to praise our gracious God, that in that hour we had a Son of David, far greater than his father, to stand between us and the brunt of the battle then pitched against us. For if all mankind, from the east unto the west, which have lived on earth since our father Adam's fall unto this present time, or shall continue unto all future generations, had been then mustered together, all of us would have fled more swiftly and more confusedly from the sight or presence of this great champion for the powers of darkness, than the host of Israel did from the champion of the Philistines when he bid a defiance unto them. All of us had been routed at the first encounter without any slaughter, been committed alive to perpetual slavery and imprisonment. But did this Son of David obtain victory in this duel with the champion for the powers of darkness at as easy a rate as his father David had done over Goliath? No: if we stretch the similitude thus far, we shall

dissolve the sweet harmony between the type and the antitype. The conquest which the Son of David had over Satan and the powers of darkness (whether in the garden or upon the cross) was more glorious than that which David had over Goliath, or Israel over the Philistines. Davīd was master of the field, *sine sanguine et sudore multo*, without blood or much sweat. The Son of David did sweat much blood before he foiled his potent adversary. And the present 832
question is not about the measure, but about the nature and quality of the pains which the Son of David in this long combat suffered, in respect of the pains which David, or any other in the behalf of God's people, had suffered. As the glory of our Saviour Christ is now much greater than the glory of all his saints which have been or shall be hereafter, so no doubt his sufferings did far exceed the sufferings of all his martyrs. But all this and much more being granted, will not infer that he suffered either the pains of hell, or hellish pains, (*pœnas infernales, aut pœnas inferorum,*) such pains as the power of darkness in that hour of extraordinary temptation had cast all mankind into, unless the Son of David had stood in the breach. Admit the old serpent had been in that hour permitted to exert his sting with all the might and malice he could against the promised woman's seed, that is, the manhood of the Son of God; yet seeing (as the apostle saith) *the sting of death is sin*, (not imputed but inherent,) it was impossible that the stinging pains of the second death should fasten upon his body or soul, in whom there was neither seed nor relic, neither root nor branch of sin. Or again, admit hell-fire (whether material or immaterial) be of a more violent malignant quality than any material fire which we know, in what subject soever it be seated, is, and that the

powers of darkness with their entire and joint force had liberty to environ or begirt the Son of God with this fire, or any other instruments of greater torture which they are enabled or permitted to use, yet seeing there was no fuel either in his soul or body whereon this fire could feed, no pains could be produced in him for nature or quality truly hellish, or such as the damned suffer: for these are supernatural, or more than so, not only in respect of the agents or causes which produce them, but in respect of the subject which endures them. Satan finds always something in them which he arms against them; some inherent internal corruption which he exasperates to greater malignity than any external force or violence could effect in any creature not tainted with such internal corruption, from which the promised woman's seed was more free than his crucified body was from putrefaction. The prince of darkness and this world could find nothing which he could exasperate or arm against him.

4. In respect of Divine Justice, or of those eternal rules of equity which the Omnipotent Creator doth most strictly observe, it was not expedient only but necessary, that the Son of God should in our flesh vanquish Satan, and vanquish him by suffering evils, even all the evils incident to our mortal nature. There was no necessity, no congruity that the Son of God should vanquish this great enemy of mankind, by suffering the very pains of hell, or hellish torments. These properly taken, or when they are suffered in kind, are the proper fruits and necessary effects of Satan's victory over sinners; the final wages of sins unrepented of, or not actually expiated by the blood of our Redeemer. In all other tribulations, distresses, or persecutions, which are not the wages of sin, *we are*

(as our apostle saith, Rom. viii. 35, 37,) *more than conquerors through him that loved us,* if so we endure them with patience. But how more than conquerors in these which are in themselves evil and distasteful to our nature? Therefore more than conquerors, because these afflictions suffered with patience do testify our conformity to the Son of God in his most grievous sufferings; and the dissolution of the 833
works of Satan in us doth seal unto our souls a full acquittance from hell-pains, from which questionless our High Priest was free in that great combat with Satan and his infernal powers: otherwise he had not been full conqueror over hell and the second death, which is no other than the pains of hell, or hellish torments. Nor could the sufferings of such torments be any part of the Son of God's qualification for dissolving those works of Satan, which cannot be dissolved but by the exercise of his everlasting priesthood, which was the last end or final cause of his sufferings, or consecration by afflictions.

CHAP. XV.

Christ's suffering of the unknown Pains, or of Pains greater than ever any of his Martyrs or others in this Life have suffered, requisite for his Qualification, as he was to become the High Priest of our Souls.

1. THE Son of God was to suffer all the afflictions which we in this world can suffer, in a far higher degree than we can suffer them; to be more strongly tempted by all the means by which we are tempted unto sin, whether by fear of evil, or by hope of things good and pleasant unto nature, that he might (even to our apprehension) be a more faithful and merciful High Priest in things concerning God, than ever any before him had been or can be. But Satan, we know,

tempteth no man in this life unto sin, either with the fear or sufferings of any evil or vexations, whereof our mortality can have no experience. He labours to withdraw no man from God's service, by giving them any taste or touch of the pains prepared for the damned in the life to come. Such as are in the deepest bonds of thraldom to him, would quickly abandon his service if he should tender them such a true symbol or earnest of their everlasting wages, or such a momentary taste of hell-pains, as the Spirit of God in this life exhibiteth to some of his children of their everlasting joys. And it is questionable whether our nature, whilst mortal, be capable of such pains, or whether the first touch or real impression of them would not dissolve the link or bond between man's mortal body and his immortal soul in a moment. For as *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*, but *this mortal must put on immortality* ere we can be partakers of celestial joys; so it is probable that our corruptible bodies must be made in another kind incorruptible, before they can be the proper subjects or receptacles of hell-pains. But though no man in this life be tempted to ill, or withdrawn from the service of God by sufferance of such pains, yet inasmuch as many are ofttimes tempted to despair of God's mercies by the unknown terrors of hell, or representations of infernal forces, there is no question but the Son of God, not in his divine wisdom only, by which he knoweth all things, but even as man, had a more distinct view of all the forces and terrors of hell, more full experience of their active force and attempts, than any man in this life can have, to the end that he might be a faithful Comforter
834 of all such unto the world's end as shall be affrighted or attempted with them. If we consider then only the attempt, assault, or active force, by which Satan seeketh

to withdraw us from God unto his service, not the issue or impression which his attempts make upon us sinful men, there was no kind of temptation whereto the Son of God was not subject, whereto he did not submit himself for our sakes, that he might have full experience or perfect notice as man, of all the dangers whereunto we are obnoxious. By that which was done against the green tree, he knoweth what will become of the dry, if it be exposed to the like fiery trial. It was requisite that this great Captain of God's warfare with Satan, and of our salvation, should have a perfect view of all the forces which fight against us, that he might be a faithful Solicitor to his Almighty Father for aid and succour unto all that are beset with them, unto all that offer up strong cries unto him, as he in the days of his flesh did unto his Father, and was saved from that which he feared.

2. The greatest comfort which any poor distressed mortal man can expect, or which our nature is capable of, in oppression and distress, must issue from this main fountain of our Saviour's agony and bloody sweat, of his cross and passion; for whatsoever he suffered in those two bitter days, he suffered, if not for this end alone, yet for this especially, that he might be an all-sufficient Comforter unto all such as mourn, as having sometimes had more than a fellow-feeling of all our infirmities and vexations, as one who had tasted deeper of the cup of sorrow and death itself, than any man before him had done, or to the world's end shall do. It would be a great comfort to such as have suffered shipwreck to have an admiral a dispenser of alms unto seafaring men who had sometimes suffered shipwreck, or after shipwreck had been wronged by his neighbours or natives. And so it would be to a man eaten out of his estate by usury or vexations in

law, to have a judge or chancellor who had been both ways more grievously wronged; a just or upright man, whose heart would melt with the fellow-feeling of his calamities. Experience of bodily pains or grievous diseases inclineth the chirurgeon or physician to be more compassionate to their patients, and more tender of their welfare than otherwise they would be. And for these reasons, ever since I took them into consideration, and as often as I resume the meditations of our Saviour's death, I have ever wondered and still do wonder at the peevishness, or rather pathetical profaneness of men, who scoff at those sacred passages in our liturgy, "By thine agony and bloody sweat; by thy cross and passion; &c., Good Lord deliver us;" as if they had more alliance with spells, or forms of conjuring, than with the spirit of prayer or true devotion. Certainly they could never have fallen into such irreverent and uncharitable quarrels with the church our mother, unless they had first fallen out, and that foully, with *Pater noster*, with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. For I dare undertake to make good, that there is not either branch or fruit, blossom or leaf, in that sacred garden of devotions, which doth not naturally spring and draw its life and nourishment from one or other of the three former roots, to wit, from the Lord's Prayer, or from the Creed, set prayer-wise, or from the Ten Commandments. And he that is disposed to read that most divine part of our liturgy with a sober mind and dutiful respect, shall find, not only more pure devotion, but more profound orthodoxal divinity, both for matter
835 and form, than can be found in all the English writers which have either carped or nibbled at it. Not one ejaculation is there in it which hath the least relish of that leaven wherewith their prolix extemporary devo-

tions who distaste it are for the most part deeply soured. But here I had ended my treatise of the qualification and undertakings of the Son of God for dissolving the works of Satan, had not a new query presented itself to my meditations in the latter end of these disquisitions; and the query is this:

3. Why our Saviour in his agony, or his other sufferings upon the cross, should not tender his petitions unto God in the same form or tenor wherein the psalmists or other holy men, which were types or figures of him in his sufferings, had done theirs in their anguish or distress; or in the same form which he once, and no oftener than once, did use upon the cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* The ancient style of prayer used by God's servants, or ambassadors, as well in their humble supplications as in their gratulatory hymns, but especially in their fervent and pathetical ejaculations for deliverance from present dread or danger, was יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי, or יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי, *my God and my Lord*, or, *my Lord and my God.* Besides the observations before made to this purpose out of Masius[5], or rather out of the liturgy of the ancient Jews avouched by him, and of the primitive church (well observed by Faber), many passages in the Psalms, which did respectively both forepicture and foretell his agony and sufferings upon the cross, are most pregnant. Of the ingratitude of his people toward him, of the indignities and cruelties done unto him by the Jews, no psalmist (the author of the 22nd only excepted) hath a more lively punctual representation, than that which is in psalms xxxv, xxxviii, and xl. David, in the very ἀκμὴ or paroxysm of the grievances which

[5] The seventh book of these Commentaries upon the Creed, chap. 36. par. 3, 4, &c.

he suffered from such of Saul's followers as he had well deserved of, delivereth his petition in this form: *Avenge thou my cause, my God and my Lord,* psalm xxxv. 23: *Judge me according to thy righteousness, O JEHOVAH, my Lord,* psalm xxxv. 24. And xxxviii. 16, (whether David or some other were the author of it,) *Quia ad te expecto, tu respondebis Domine, Deus mi.* And again, psalm xl. 5: *Multa, fecisti tu JEHOVAH, Deus meus,* &c.

אֱלֹהַי
וֵאלֹהַי
יְהוָה
אֱלֹהַי
אֲדֹנָי
אֱלֹהַי

4. But when the hour was come wherein all these prophetical ejaculations of the psalmists were to be exactly fulfilled in our Saviour Christ, and by him, he prefers his supplications *stylo novo,* in a form or style unusual before, but familiar and usual to him when his passion and death drew nigh, as John xii, *Father,* (not *Lord God,*) *what shall I say? save me from this hour,* &c.; and John xvii, *Father, glorify me,* &c. He used the same form in his agony thrice, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.* And in the last words which he uttered in the form of a servant, he said not, *My God, my God,* or *My Lord God,* but, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* This variation between this most faithful servant of God, and other holy men, God's faithful servants, in the form of their supplications or gratulatory ejaculations, conceived and uttered upon the like occasions, suggests thus much unto us, (if I mistake not,) That of all God's servants, or holy men, the man CHRIST JESUS only was his true Son, not by adoption as others were, and we now are, but his Son by right of inheritance; and yet, being such a Son, was for a time as truly his servant as his Son. He
836 who always had been יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי, or *God the Lord,* he whose title it was *to hear his people's prayers,* and *unto whom all flesh shall come,* psalm lxv. 2, doth